benefit, keeping in view the inflationary trends, keeping in view that the inflation is eating into the pay-packets of everybody? And then, Sir, to say that the Budget is savings-oriented is again a travesty of truth is again twisting of facts. The cushion available for tax rebate to enable a middle class man to save out of the earnings will otherwise leave him under severe economic strain, both for his day-to-day domestic budget and for the days after retirement.

Sir, the Government made much of its declaration to provide ration cards to everybody in Delhi. We all welcome that step. But that again is a half-hearted step. Discrimination has been resorted to in earmarking the various beneficiaries for the purpose of granting ration cards, ensuring in the process that the dwellers of those jhuggi-jhonpris who owe allegiance to the Congress, who have sympathy for the Congress, are excluded form the surveys for that purpose. What we really expected from the Government was that we should have had a greater outlay on account of the PDS. The Government should have announced greater subsidies to the different State Governments to enable them to strengthen the PDS. In reply to our questions, we only hear that it is for the State Governments to do so. If it is for the State Governments to do, what is really there with the Central Government to boast of having provided food at cheaper and subsidised rates to the deprived sections of our society? Sir, if we were to go through the speech of the hon. Finance Minister as well as the various declarations of the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Government, we find that there is total confusion in their ranks about what the Government propose to do in the days to come in various critical areas concerning the nation's life.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Can you conclude in a few minutes?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I will finish it in a few minutes, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): After the discussion on the Kashmir situation is over, you can speak tomorrow.

Now, the Home Minister to make a statement on the Kashmir situation.

STATEMENT BY MINISTER

Situation in Kashmir

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED): Sir, The prevailing grim situation in Kashmir Valley is the cumulative result of a mix of internal and external factors and inadequate political and administrative response, to a series of developments in the Valley which spurred public disenchantment in the efficacy of political process and administrative machinery to deliver the goods.

The activities of the militants have now acquired a momentum of its own and there has been a fresh spurt in the number of violent incidents and killings of innocent persons. During the current month, upto 23 March, 55 incidents of violence, 68 cases of armed attacks have taken place which took a toll of 61 innocent lives. Some of the prominent persons killed during the last few days include veteram State CPI leader Abdul Sattar Ranjoor, Mir Ghulam Mustafa, Ghulam Nabi Kuller, Ghulam Hassan Tabassum, a Dy. S. P. (Home Guards) and others. A few prominent members of the minority community including N. K. Ganjoo and Lasa Koul have also been killed by the terrorists. Arrangements have also been made to provide security cover to persons who are directly under threat from the terrorists. The militants are sparing no efforts to subvert the State authority by generating fear psychosis among the people in a variety of ways like, persistent threats

[Shri Mufti Mohammad Sayeed]

through loud-speakers, letters and posters and circulation of planted rumours regarding hit-lists as well as killings of innocent persons including prominent members of the minority community.

The open encouragement to the terrorism by our neighbouring country and rendering of assistance in the shape of arms, training and other kind of assistance, of which we have concrete evidence, have further boosted the activities of the secessionist elements in the Valley. The recent public pronouncements of the leaders of our neighbouring country of their continuing and categorical support to the secessionist elements and attempt of that country to internationalise the issue have added to the gravity of the situation.

An unfortunate fall-out of the upsurge in militancy and the disturbed conditions in the Valley has been the migration of the members of the minority community from there. While the migrants are predominantly Hindus, any families of Sikhs and some Muslims have also left the Valley. Most of these migrants whose number, on a rough estimate is more than 25,000 families, are presently in Jammu and Delhi. Suitable arrangements have been made for looking after the migrants till they are able to return to the Valley.

The situation in Kashmir calls for firm and resolute measures for reasserting the authority of the State and restoring normalcy by taking recourse to multipronged measures. These will involve effectively isolating and containing secessionist elements, toning up of intelligence and administrative machinery and initiation of a series of measures for winning back the confidence of people through political process and implementation of various people-oriented measures on the economic front.

The Central Government is fully alive to the situation and keeping a close watch. A series of steps have already been taken on the law and order front which include revamping of administration at senior level, appointment of 2 Special Commissioners for trouble prone districts of Anantnag and Baramulla and revitalising of intelligence-gathering machinery, proper functioning of police stations, better coordination between State Police/Central Police forces and the Army, preventive arrests of criminals, anti-social elements and goondas as well as action against harbourers of extremists and anti-social elements, strengthening of Home Guards Organisation, systematic follow-up raids and combing operations, strengthening of fire and jail services, etc. As a result of these strong measures, it has been possible to apprehend more than 100 subversionsts and take action against more than 30 government servants who came to notice for indulging in subversive activities. It was against due to State Govt.'s strong action that no Pakistani flag was allowed to be hoisted in the Valley on January 26 and the Government buildings in the capital were brightly lit. Further steps contemplated relate to a number of developmental measures to help the economy of the area and increase employment opportunities for the youth. These include raising of a few B.S.F. battalions, recruitment of about 3,000 teachers and sanction of Rs. 25 crores for construction of school buildings. The Government have also taken necessary steps to counter our neighbouring country's offensive and showing undue interest in what is essentially an internal matter of this country and indicated in no uncertain terms our resolve to defend the country's integrity and secular institutions. Political initiative has also been taken with a view to evolving a national consensus for tackling this problem. The Prime Minister has already held two meetings on this issue with senior leaders of major political parties on 7th and 10th March, 1990. The leaders of major national parties who participated in the meeting held on 7th March also

visited Srinagar on 8th March to make an on-the-spot study of the situation. A joint statement issued after the 10th March meeting reassured the people of Jammu and Kashmir about maintaining the identity of the State and underlined the need for reviving the political activity. It further expressed the resolve that no sinister designs against the territorial integrity of India shall be permitted to succeed and made an appeal to the misguided sections of the people in Kashmir Valley to abjure violence and take recourse to peaceful ways for redressal of their grievances for which abundant opportunities existed within the Constitution of India. A Cabinet Minister has also been appointed to coordinate Jammu and Kashmir affairs and an Advisory Committee comprising the representatives of various political parties to assist the Minister has also been set-up.

The situation in the Valley is indeed very serious and it brooks no partisan approach. We have to rise above Party considerations and approach the issue from a national perspective. The Government of India has been rendering all possible assistance to the State Government to meet the situation. The Government is totally committed to maintaining territorial integrity and unity of the country and foil the sinister designs of secessionist and subversive element in the Valley as well as forces operating from across the border

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Now, the discussion on the Budget will continue tomorrow. Now, clarifications on the statement. Yes, Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, from reading the statement and listening to the Home Minister, it is quite clear that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir has actually deteriorated instead of improving consequent upon the actions that they have taken for which there has been a widespread criticism in the country. I am particularly referring to the uncalled for and unwise decision to send Mr. Jagmohan as the Governor of that State and the widespread criticism that followed from it and, indeed, the developments since then, as described by the Home Minister, only confirm what we had feared at every stage.

In fact, today, the UNI ticker has a report that the Army has been asked to take over the entire Jammu region to maintain law and order which shows that the situation in the Kashmir Valley is actually spreading and, indeed, from the statement of the Minister also it appears to be so. He has crossed out three telling linen in his statement which, if you read,—they have not been crossed out very well and, so, I can read what he wanted to say—show that indeed, the situation is deteriorating in other parts also. Indeed I think if the Home Minister disagrees with this assessment that the situation is deteriorating since the appointment of Mr. Jagmohan as Governor, then he should tell us something more concrete than the fact that they have prevented Pakistani flags from coming up on 26th January and he must tell us some other index by which he can say the situation has improved or he should openly confess to this House that the situation has deteriorated. What worries a lot of us is the systematic choice of targets for assasination by the terrorists, how they seem to know who is an intelligence agent, who is placed where, what his movements are, and the immunity with which they can enter an office and assassinate him there. I would like to know how it is possible. It only means that they have lost control. Even Mir Mustafa who is reported in the press to be a friend of the Home Minister, who is supposed to have helped the Home Minister recover his daughter from the kidnappers, even he has been

[Shri Subramaniam Swamy]

hanged. Even while he was in captivity Pakistani radio was announcing the demands of the terrorists and saying that if those demands are not conceded, then he would be killed. This kind of a thing has been happening. Further, what is more alarming is the open statement by the Prime Minister of Pakistan that they will set aside a fund for the liberation...

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: They have set aside a fund.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: And they have announced it on the radio. And our Prime Minister also has conceded that they have made infiltrations across the international border, not only the ceasefire line. I whould like to know what this Government is going to do. Are they just going to make a regular running commentary on the deterioration in the situation in Kashmir or are they going to take any concrete steps by way of retaliation to put the mischief of Pakistan to an end?

The second thing I would like to know from the Home Minister is this. What is your attempt, in what form are you attempting to re-establish the authority of the State in Jammu and Kashmir? Are you having a parallel administration through the army? Are you doing some other thing? What are you doing to make the administration run, maintain water supply, electricity, and so on? If the entire administration has turned against you, judging by the demonstrations that are taking place there, what are you doing?...

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH (Maharashtra): Take over.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Take-over of the administration, by whom? By the Governor? By the terrorists? Then what are you doing to create a parallel administration? In fact, considering the setup of the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir --Ladakh Valley and Jammu—this should be handled on a different footing because the problems are different. Ladak is facing a different kind of situtation. Jammu is facing a different kind of situation. So I would like to know what you are going to do about it. But the way one of your Ministers, viz. Mr. George Fernandes—I still don't know what his role is, because when Kashmir is on fire he is vacationing in Goa on a weekend and Goa is a nice and beautiful place for weekend vacationing...

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI (Andhra Pradesh): How do you know that?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: 'How do you know' what?... (*Interruption*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Please don't dhisturb him. Mr. Subramanian Swamy, please ask clarifications, not a discussion on Kashmir.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: ...I am asking for clarifications. But I really don't know who the Minister in charge is, whether we are dealing with the Home Minister. Kashmir has been taken away from him. Practically everything is being taken away from him except perhaps Delhi Police. Everything has been slowly taken away from him. Anyway, when they say they were prepared to negotiate with the JKLF, is this not an open encouragement to the terrorists? Why should they want to negotiate with a group which says 'We won't have anything to do with you' and whose headquarters is openly in Pakistan and who are broadcasting over the radio? So I would like to know, what are you going to do to establish your authority on the administration and how are you going to restore confidence there when you are ready to negotiate with the terrorists themselves?

Another aspect which worries us is the United States stand on Kashmir. I know this Government is very much amenable to pressure from the United States. On a number of things they have modified their stand. It began in Panama. The relevance of the U.N. Resolutions have been periodically brought up. The Simla Government is also trotted out. The Simla Agreement clearly says that if any of the parties—that is the logical consequence— internationalises the issue then that agreement is violated. The agreement is that you will not internationalise this. When Pakistan is daily internationalising it how can you say that the Simla Agreement is the basis for talks? Therefore again I would like to know whether you still regard the entire Kashmir as part of India and therefore the only international part of the problem is how to recover the territory which is under Pakistan. There is total confusion in the plea with which they are receiving U.S. certificate that they are supporting our stand. The United States is not supporting our stand; they are supporting that stand which will internationalise Kashmir. And Kashmir cannot be internationalised except to the extent that Pakistan has to vacate that portion which is a part of India.

You have already played politics by restricting the number of parties whom you called for consultation. (*Interruptions*) Sir, this is what they have done. And in that Committee, one of the...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Have you completed your clarifications?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I am just finishing up. In that Committee the Home Minister has made an appeal that we must rise above party, and so on. But they have not. One of the members today, according to papers—Mr. Kar, who is PCCI chief...

AN HON. MEMBER: He was.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: He was a member of that Committee. He has resigned. He says that you are playing politics, you are trying to finish off Congress and defame the National Congress. So, I would like to know, to what extent we can help you when you yourself are playing politics.

If you cannot manage Kashmir, it will be much better in the national interst if you resign and get out. At least let the country find some other set of leaders who can protect the integrity of the country. Ever since you have come into power the Kashmir problem is deteriorating day by day. So I would like to have an assurance from the Home Minister about the concrete steps that he is going to take to ensure that Kashmir remains a part of India.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): Sir, the statement is quite long-ish and I do not like to ask so many questions.

Mr. Subramanian Swamy talked of politicising the issue. The issue is political. It has to be dealt with politically. It is already political.

The hon. Minister said that the activities of the terrorists gathered momentum during the recent period. I would like to know how they gathered momentum. It has not been spelt out by the Minister. This is the first question I would like to know.

Shri Mir Mustafa, an independent Member of the Assembly, was kidnapped and then murdered. Who kidnapped him? Is there any information from the police about his kidnapping? Is it the JKLF? Perhaps it is another force, not backed by Pakistan, which has kidnapped? Is it due to the fact that the gentleman was murdered when the Home Minister's daughter was kidnapped? That is why he was kidnapped and killed?

Sir, I would also like to know how many persons in Jammu and Kashmir, whether they are Muslim political leaders or Hindu political leaders or

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

other political leaders, are being threatened by the terrorists and how many are on the hit list. Sir, we are reminded that the hon. National Conference Member in the House resigned because he was threatened by the terrorists. Like him, how many, whether of the National Conference or of the Congress or of any other political party, are under threat from the militants and how they are being given protection by the Government? I would like to know that.

Lastly, the Minister has told the House about the migrant families and how the Government is looking after them. This is another aspect. In that context, I would like to say that those who have migrated from the Kashmir Valley are being given shelter. After they have been given shelter, I would like to know whether the Government is quite alert about the situation in Jammu and whether the presence of so many migrants or so many refugees from the Kashmir Valley is creating any communal tension in Jammu itself. I would like to know about it from the hon. Minister because it is a very serious issue and it may create some problems.

Sir, the hon. Minister in charge of Kashmir Affairs has addressed a committee. I would like to know from the hon. Minister what progress they have made during these few days in resolving the Kashmir issue after the Minister in charge of Kashmir Affairs had been appointed and after he addressed the committee. Are they getting any threats from the militants? Have they been able to meet some people who matter in the present situation in Kashmir? I would like to seek clarification from the hon. Minister on these points.

SHRI V. NARAYANASWAMY (Pondicherry): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the statement made by the hon. Minister clearly shows that this Government has totally surrendered to the militants and the secessionist forces in Jammu and Kashmir. I would like to say that this Government has not openly come forward and said that it is Pakistan which is aiding and abetting the terrorists. If you go through the Statement, the hon. Minister says: "A neighbouring country". This Government has no guts to say that it is Pakistan which is aiding and abetting the terrorists. The Statement does not openly say that as far as the incidents that have taken place in Jammu and Kashmir are concerned, Pakistan is the main force behind the secessionist forces. Apart from that, the hon. Minister is telling the House that they want to take two major steps. One is the political process and the other is developmental activities. Sir, is it not a fact that Mr. Jagmohan, the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, dissolved the Assembly without getting prior permission or sanction from the Central Government? Mr. Jagmohan took the decision even without informing the Central Government. Apart from that, the Government is not really interested in the political process. The Governor went to the extent of telling the political leaders who had gathered there in Kashmir that the Congerss and the National Conference are *non est* in Jammu and Kashmir and if we depend upon them, the political process cannot be revived. He also said that we have to give recognition to JKLF. When the Governor says that you have to recognise the militant group, what are you going to do with that Governor? The Governor who is not meeting the people, the Governor who is not going out to assess the situation, the Governor who is sitting in Cantonment and issuing orders cannot control the situation. How can such a Governor control the situation? Sir, the Home Minister said that the political process is being revived. What is his plan of action? Nothing has come out. Mir Mustafa Independent M.L.A. who played a major role in the release of Dr. Rubaiya, was not given protection by the Police there.

Our information is that the entire civil administration is under the control of JKLF. In the Central Government undertakings and banks and other undertakings, officers are working. They have completely vacated Jammu and Kashmir. And the main aspect is that the Minister is telling about the revival of the political process. The demand was made by the political parties that they have to revive the Assembly. Will the Home Minister give an assurance on the floor of this House that they will revive the Assembly and start the political process? Sir, what is meant by political process? It is recognising the political parties to do the political activities so that peace will be maintained in that area. But the Minister is simply saying that he will revive the political process. What is your plan of action? Nothing has come out Sir, this Government does not say in the statement that Pakistan is involved. I want to know whether this Government is afraid of Pakistan, Sir, everybody says and I heard the Prime Minister also telling yesterday that we will not allow the subversive elements to divide this country. All these tall talks are going on inside and outside the country. But, what is really heppening? You have lost control over the administration; you have lost control over the police there in Jammu and Kashmir. Practically you have nothing there. And even the Minister in charge, the Minister who has been given the charge to take care of Jammu and Kashmir, when he went there, there was demonstration. He was not received. And the Minister takes things lightly and he goes elsewhere. When he was given charge of Jammu and Kashmir, hardly for one day he visited Jammu and Kashmir. What is this Government doing really to solve the problem? We are all concerned about Jammu and Kashmir. Our apprehension is that Jammu and Kashmir will go out of India. That is our apprehension. When we said that this is a weak Government, the Prime Minister was intolerant. Therefore Sir, I would to know whether this Government will revive the Assembly. Secondly, Sir, the Minister is telling that for bringing developmental activities, they will recruit 25,000 teachers and that they will give employment to people. That will not be a developmental activity. And you should create confidence in the minds of the people who are living there that the Government in Jammu and Kashmir and also the Central Government will give protection to the people who are living there. When the JKLF people are just killing people even when they walk on the streets, how can the confidence be created in the minds of the people?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR). What is your third clarification?

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: I am coming to that, Sir. Our information is that about 100 officers in the Jammu and Kashmir administration received threatening letters. And when they sought protection, they have not been given protection. Therefore, Sir, it is a serious matter. And even today a lot of people have been killed. As the Minister himself has admitted, 25,000 families have vacated Kashmir. Today in Jammu curfew has been imposed. In a particular place, a clash took place between two groups, and the Government had to impose curfew there. That being the situation, my feeling is that this Government has no plan of action. And I want the Home Minister to come out openly in this House whether he is for reviving the Assembly to start the political process or not.

While concluding, I would like to say that as far as developmental activities are concerned, what he has explained is not sufficient. I want to know whether they have got any other action plan for the purpose of creating confidence in the minds of the people of Jammu and Kashmir that the Central Government and the State Government

[Shri V. Narayanasamy].

will definitely help them and give them protection .

7.00 P.M.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Sir, it cannot be denied that the situation in Kashmir is dangerously bad and it is becoming bad every day. Not only political leaders are being killed openly but also members of the administration are being made the target of terrorist attack. Therefore, there can be no second opinion regarding the degree of the gravity of the situation that has engulfed the valley of Kashmir. And the statement that the Home Minister has been so kind as to present before the House also gives a graphic description of the rise of the degree of terrorism threatening normalcy in every sphere of life. And he also categorically states that the Government intends to take certain steps towards the normalisation and political process and that should be looked upon as the major step. I have no quarrel with the Government on these points. But unfortunately I also cannot but criticise the Government because Pakistan is not being named. Why is it? Pakistan has become of late the springboard for launching of terrorist activities not only in Kashmir but also in other parts of the country. Therefore, why should we soft pedal or why should we refuse to call a spade a spade and why Pakistan cannot be named? I do not think that is going to spoil the relationship between the people of these two important countries of this sub-continent. Therefore, the Government in order to become more effective in its endeavour to build up international public opinion to pressurise Pakistan so to say, so that that country is brought to senses, Indian must speak in plain language and the language need not be diplomatic. We have passed the stage we can afford to be diplomatic and there cannot be any diplomacy without truth. Therefore, India must speak out the truth that it is Pakistan who is at the centre of building up a terrorist offiensive to destabilise our country so to say balkanise our country at the behest of a global power.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Name the country.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: And it is the United States of America. And, therefore, there is a nexus between Rawalpindi and Washington. Otherwise, why this paradoxical coincidence. I do not understand why this coincidence whenever there is a spurt of violence in Kashmir, there is a spurt of violence in Punjab. The parties have agreed to amend the Constitution because normal democratic process cannot otherwise be set in. Why is it? Because the situation in Punjab has deteriorated just at this moment of time. There have been communal riots in three places of Bihar. Only in two places eight people have died. It is at this moment of time that communal climate has been sought to be disturbed in Nizamuddin. It is at this point of time that communal clashes have started taking place in different parts of the country. Therefore, the secessionist forces working in Kashmir, fundamentalism working in northern India and communal forces and terrorist forces working in Punjab are working hand in hand and there appears to be ...

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA (Bihar): And now they are coming to Rajya Sabha.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: And it is for you to explain the reason for it.... because the Government, the party, that has been swept out of power, was responsible in many ways in encouraging the communal forces in the country.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We have not compromised with the fundamentalist forces. (*Interruptions*) You have compromised with the fundamentalist forces. Dont forget that. (*Interruptions*) The C.P.I. has compromised with the fundamentalist forces.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I only wish the discussion does not degenerate to this level. In order to solve the problem, in order that...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Please seek clarifications. No interruptions.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I am coming to that. What I say is, these points, these elements, have not been taken note of by the hon. Minister. What is the backdrop of the deteriorating situation in Kashmir? What is the backdrop? I feel that the hon. Minister should tell us. He should ask his intelligence agencies to find out whether there is a co-relation between the forces working in Kashmir and those which are working in the other parts of the country. This is my first question.

Secondly, why does not the Government name Pakistan?

Thirdly, there is a statement in the Press today. This is by Mr. Kar, who is a Congress leader. The statement says that the Government has made the Committee on Kashmir redundant. This is from a political leader and it is a political statement. I would like the Home Minister to tell us. This has the implication that the Congress (I) is going out of the Committee gradually. This is what it means. He also says that the National Conference is on its way out of the Committee. If it is so, not only the impact of this statement will be responsible to the extent it will divide the national endeavour, but it will also be responsible to the extent it will mean, it will help Pakistan to understand, that India is divided at this moment of time. Of course, if there has been any lapse on the part of the Government to activate the Committee that should also be placed before the House. Therefore, my third question to the hon. Minister is, whether he is aware that such a statement has been made, what is likely to be the impact of this statement on the situation in the Valley and whether he agrees with the content of the statement that the Government is out not to activate the Committee.

In this connection, I would like to refer to a Press report I have seen. On the 18th March, there has been a statement from Jammu and this statement seems to have been issued by the B.J.P., the Dharma Sabha, the Arya Samaj and the Kashmiri Pandit Sabha. This is a joint statement by organisations belonging to the same category of political understanding and thinking. They have declared that there should not be, under any circumstances, any talks with the militants. I would like the hon. Minister to tell us whether this statement is true, whether this Press report is true.

Then, there is another report which has appeared in the newspapers. This has come only two or three days back. The report says that most of the terrorists in Kashmir are not the local people, but that they are infiltrators, trained infiltrators, sent in a clandestine manner by Pakistan. I would like the hon. Minister to tell us whether this report is also true. Why I ask this question is because this report gives me a ray of hope that in spite of all that has been done by Pakistan, they have not been able to rally, to a very large extent, the local Kashmiri people, including the Muslim youth. If it is so, we must talk with the militants. We must talk with everybody. We must talk. Whoever may be the people, we must talk with our own citizens. We shall not talk with foreign citizens. Of course, I say the border is to be sealed. Government of India must take stringent steps to ensure that infiltration across the border does not take place. Yes, if necessary, send the army. Pakistan must not be given liberty to destabilise the country. That being one part, the other part is, all the people in Kashmir should be taken into confidence. This is the report that the militants are from Pakistan, not from Kashmir. Therefore, this statement supposed to have been issued by BJP is irresponsible. To that extent the statement issued by the

[Shri Gurudas Das Gupta]

Congress leader is also irresponsible. His disassociation from the Committee is an act of irresponsibility. Similarly, the statement, if it is true that it is from the BJP, is irresponsible because it only provokes the Government to deal with the situation at a point of gun which is not possible.

At the end I would like the Government to tell us whether the Government has given up its policy of taking the entire Kashmir population into confidence and not to seek to solve the problem at a gun-point. I want a political solution. I would like the Government to tell us whether that is still on the agenda of the Government.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): Sir, I have gone through the statement and also heard the hon. Home Minister. With great respect I want to say that after reading the statement I am filled with the anguish. I feel that either this Government is living in fantasy land where they do not know what is happening or they are completely unaware of what is happening in Kashmir. Even an ordinary person deep down South, in Kanyakumari would know about Kashmir from the press, from the stories and from the people, who are talking about it in the length and breadth of the country. I do not wish to make any political statement. I am speaking out of a deep anguish. If they are aware of the situation, it is even worse if they are taking this attitude, bringing forward a statement like this before this House and also misleading, through this House, the people of the country. I am not making the statement lightly. Apart from what the other hon. Members have said about this statement, they have scored out six important lines in the statement. I do not want to dwell any more on it. I am talking about the attitude of the Government. The statement reads like some kind of a morning broadcast on some casual radio programme, it is a collection of clinches. It demonstrates complete indifference or being completely unaware of the situation on hand. The clinche is taking place from the beginning. It says: "The situation in Kashmir Calls for firm and resolute measures for re-asserting the authority of the State and restoring normalcy." These things do not mean anything. Then it says: "The Central Government is fully alive to the situation and keeping a close watch. A series of steps have already been taken on the law and order front..." This is the statement before the Rajya Sabha. It talks about a series of measures, fully alive to the situation, close watch and all that and what are the steps that they have taken? It is: "Revamping of administration at senior level, appointment of 2 Special Commissioners." By appointing two Special Commissioners are you going to solve the problem of Kashmir? In fact, the reports that we have say that by doing this you are completely antagonising the people on the ground. By bringing the people from outside you are completely antagonising the people there.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Nobody is outsider. They are from Kashmir cadre.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I concede if they are from Kashmir, if the hon. Home Minister says that they are from Kashmir, I concede as long as they are not outsiders.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Probably they belong to Kashmir cadre but they are non-Kashmiris. *(Interruptions)*.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Dr. R. K. PODDAR): Mr. Home Minister, you will clarify all the points. Let him finish. *(Interruptions)*.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I accept the Home Minister's statement with gratitude. The reason why I said so was that the Governor has gone on record, saying that there is a virtual take-over—I am quoting the words of the

Governor—of the administration. It is not a collapse of the administration. It has been taken over by the terrorists. This is the reason why I had to point it out. Anyhow I accept what he has said.

There is another statement which disturbs me profoundly. It says very proudly on page 4: "It was again due to State Government's strong action that no Pakistani flag was allowed to be hoisted in the Valley on January 26 and the Government buildings in the capital were brightly lit" People are being murdered and killed by State Government's strong action, you prevented the flag hoisting! I have seen pictures, I have seen video cassettes...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY (Tamil Nadu): Pakistani flags were hoisted during Rajiv Gandhi's regime.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, if he wants to bring it down to his level, I will sit down. I am deeply concerned about Kashmir. I am not making any political speech. (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): You ask your clarifications that you want to seek, as one, two, three. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: But, Sir, I have to explain. There is one thing more. I do not want to make a political statement, but if Mr. Gopalsamy wants to join issue, then yesterday the hon. Prime Minister was talking about the IPKF and all of us clapped that the jawans have done such a wonderful job. But the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu speaks at a DMK conference that IPKF people killed...

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What do you want, Madam? ...From Kashmir, you are jumping to Tamil Nadu...You have got some obsession with Tamil Nadu. There is something wrong with your mental make-up...The hon. lady Member made a reference about the hoisting of Pakistani flag. I said, that these flags were hoisted in your regime when you had a coalition with the National Conference. That is the point I made.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): So that is your achievement ... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: You are responsible for this... This is the malady we have inherited from your... (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): You restrict yourself to clarifications.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am restricting myself to that. But if they are only going to interrupt me like this... With great respect to the Chair, I was quietly talking about the statement, but if they are going to interrupt me saying that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi did this, then I am afraid, I have to reply.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): You have made your point. Now let her conclude her clarifications.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: The problem is, all of them cannot be appointed as Ministers. So they try to act like one.

SHRI M. M. JACOB (Kerala): There were some people who burnt the Indian Constitution also.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Now they are coming to the Rajya Sabha.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: The point I am trying to make is...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: This is the tragedy. A national calamity is being glossed over.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am not glossing over it. I am just trying...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Please, let her conclude her clarifications (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I am seriously concerned about Kashmir. I am sorry, if I have said anything which has hurt the Members on the other side, I withdraw it. I do not want to make a political statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Don't dilute the seriousness of the situation.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: I do not want to give it a political complexion. I am deeply concerned about Kashmir and I want the House to solve the problem. If they continue interrupting me, I will keep quiet. I do not want to enter into a debate on that.

So I will just continue. The point I was making is, there are video cassettes in circulation ,all the women are out on the roads, the people of Kashmir, the youth are talking about azadi. When the all-party delegation went to the hotel, they were surrounded by the hotel staff. The Congress President, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, was surrounded by the hotel staff and they were shouting slogans about azadi. And you are patting yourself on the back because the Government buildings were brightly lit I think this is a very myopic view of the situation..

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Sir, there is a limit to this.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, let him finish his interruptions. I will sit down. Let him carry on and speak.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Mr. Fernandes should come here and tell us...

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: Sir, I appeal to the honourable Members, I am not asking anything personal; I am merely making a statement about what I feel so deeply about Kashmir. If it is going to deteriorate into a political debate, we can retaliate very easily.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): It is not a debate; it is only seeking of clarifications.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: But it is deteriorating into something else.

Sir, the point is, therefore, it is a completely myopic view of the situation. Things are so bad. I have talked to people who have been there. The Government buildings are all empty. What is the point of lighting up the Government buildings when they are all empty? To make it very brief, that part of my clarification is, what kind of a view is this Government taking, if they think that they have achieved something by lighting up Government buildings, by giving us statistics, by talking in clinches? I would like to have an assurance from the House Minister that they will take a serious view of the matter and tell us what is really happening.

Secondly, the other part of the statement is about the political process. Now I want to join issue with honourable Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, who spoke before me and said that the Congress Member, the leader in Kashmir, has made an irresponsible statement. The reason why I am bringing it to the notice of the House and, through you, to the Home Minister is, even last time when I spoke about Kashmir I was deeply concerned. The day on which I spoke, the entire press was full with leaks of highly secret documents. There were several documents —reports of the Governor, Mr. Jagmohan, which he had sent to the Central Government after he became the Governor, from January onwards, wherein he used extremely abusive language about the former Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Sir, my question to the honourable Home Minister is, how do you expect the political process to start? Who was it, first of all, that leaked these documents to the press? How does the report of the Governor come out in the *Indian Express* and, do you really expect to be serving the national interests and do you want to bring Dr. Farooq Abdullah and the National Conference back to the mainstream? Is this how you are going to function if it comes out in the press every day that this is what somebody is saying about Dr. Farooq Abdullah and this is what the Governor has said in his report? The Governor says, unless Dr. Farooq Abdullah leaves, Kashmir can never be safe. I am not quoting him exactly, but these were the sentiments. Are you serious about starting a political process?

Then, Sir, about the Congress the Governor has gone on record saying that the Congress has become irrelevant. Then, how do you expect a political process to start? Sir, I ask my colleague through you, how can he say that it was irrespon-

sible of Mr. Kaul to make a statement like that when the Governor said that the Congress was irrelevant and the only people who are relevant are the JKLF. Youth and you have to talk to them about their demand for *azadi?* Sir, I want an assurance from the Home Minister that he will talk the Governor into being more responsible. If he is going to alienate the entire political process, if he is going to alienate the Congress and National Conference leaders like this, there can be no hope of any kind of political process even beginning. Let us not fool ourselves that a political process will begin in this way.

Thirdly, Sir, he says that his intelligence agencies were working, they have got a list, they were providing security to the people and they are doing this and that. I want to ask the Home Minister, is it a fact that after Mir Mustafa was kidnapped, for three days the Pakistan Radio has been broadcasting that he has been kidnapped and you have to release so many terrorists and, otherwise, they will kill him? If this is a fact, why wasn't our intelligence aware of this? Did the Governor take any action? Was any action taken? Why was the situation allowed to deteriorate so that it resulted in the killing of Mir Musafa?

Fourthly, Sir,—I have only one more point—the attitude of the Governor towards the people of the State leaves a great deal to be desired. We are now concerned not about the geography of Kashmir not about the geographical boundaries; we are not concerned about the history of how Kashmir came here. We are concerned with the psychological battle in the hearts and minds of the people of Kashmir and, in this context, it is important to win their confidence. It is not enough, as I said—and that is why it pained me—to say that they are happy that they managed to keep the Government buildings brightly lit. Are the people with us? Are the people out on the streets demonstrating? At the time when Kashmir acceded to India all the people in Kashmir were out on the streets demonstrating for India, saying how they were happy to be a part of India. But today the situation is entirely in reverse. Even the women in *purdah* are coing out on the streets and demonstrating against India. It is complete take-over.

Sir, at this point it is very important that the person who is at the head of the administration is able to inspire confidence in the people, and this, Mr. Jagmohan is not doing at all.

There is curfew. Maybe this is not an impotant point for the Home Minister who may be concerned with much greater matters of the situation. I do not know. As I said, I do not want to be political. But there is curfew. The curfew is being continuous from December, if I am not mistaken. How can you expect people to live in that State? You have to hear the broadcast on the mike. The curfew is lifted only from 5 o'clock to 9 o'clock in the morning, if my information is correct. In Kashmir the temperatures are freezing. How do you expect the people to come out and do anything?

Sir, last time during the debate on Kashmir many Members from the other side said, "You accuse us of being weak because you say we have given in to the terrorists. There is the Governor who is such a good administrator taking firm action against everything. You say that he is too hard, that he is a bull in a China shop." This is where the mistake lies. This is where the fallacy lies. What you are doing is that you are being soft on the terrorists. What the Government is doing is that it is being soft on the terrorists and hard on the people who do not deserve it. What I want them to do is to be soft on the people and hard on the terrorists. Let them relax the curfew, let them inspire confidence in the people. Let them come down heavily on the terrorists. This is what they should do, instead of splitting petty political hair with the Opposition.

Finally, my last clarification is about artcle 370. I do not need to say—we all know what the stand of the National of the BJP is and what our stand is. I know that everybody has gone on record.

[Shrimati Jayanthi Natarajan]

The Prime Minister has gone on record saying that the National Front stands by article 370. Hon. Vajpayee has gone on record saying that the BJP is against it. Both of them have said, "You cannot divide us on this." Please. I want to appeal to all the leaders on the other side. Please don't suspect us of ulterior motives. We have no motives of wanting to divide you. If you are going to be divided, and if you are going to fall, you are going to fall under the weight of your own contradictions. We are concerned with only one thing. We are concerned right now in today's debate about the people of Kashmir. Without the support of the BJP the National Front Government cannot continue, the Government is going to fall. Therefore, the BJP is very important to the National Front Government. Sir, if the BJP is committed to removing article 370 and the National Front Government is committed to keeping it, obviously both of them cannot be right. One of them is going to give in. It is no answer to the people, it may be an answer to Congress, but it is no answer to the people to turn around and say, "You cannot seek to divide us on article 370." We do not want to divide you. We want to know in the ultimate analysis if all the people of Kashmir are here today standing outside the Parliament House and asking whether you are going to keep if or not, which one of you is going to give in. Since the National Front is in the Government, if the BJP says that I will not give in on article 370, does this Government have a conviction to quit on that ground? Are they going to stand by article 370? The message we have to send to the people of Kashmir is that we will keep article 370, and I want an assurance from hon. Home Minister that they will keep it no matter what happens, whether the BJP agrees to it or not.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Many Members have asked time for clarifications. I request you not to take more than two minutes. Mr. Ram Awadhesh Singh. You have to ask for clarifications only. You don't give your own interpretation. Ask for clarifications on the statement the Minister has made.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Sir, is it only seeking clarifications or is it a full-fledged dabate?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): I am exactly saying that. It is not a debate on Kashmir. The Minister has made the statement. You can seek clarifications on the statement, not give your own interpretations on the various phenomena or differences between different parties. Kindly restrict to the statement the Minister has made. Shri Ram Awadhesh Singh.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Sir, I may draw your attention to the normal procedure we have been following in this House. Normally one from each party used to get an opportunity to seek clarifications. That is the normal practice. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN: The convention is different. Every Member has a right to speak. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Let us be accommodative, we will accommodate all within the time. Order please.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: That has been the tradition and practice of this House on the statement of the Minister.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): Mr. Gopalsamy, don't set any new convention. If that be so, the entire National Front will be constituted as one unit, including you.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : माननीय उपसभापति जी, देश इस समय कश्मीर की ओर आंखें लगाए हुए है। देश के कोने-कोने में लोग कश्मीर के बारे में सुनना चाहते हैं और संसद में

सुनना चाहते हैं कि संसद में कश्मीर के बारे में क्या हो रहा है और संसद में क्या कदम उठाये जा रहे हैं ? जो यह बयान आया है गृहमंत्री जी का पैरा-2 में बहुत कमजोरी के साथ और लगता है कि अभी भी कुछ मुहब्बत पाकिस्तान के साथ रह गई है। इस तरह के बयान से और यह जो कहा गया है कि "सम आफ दी प्रोमिनिनेंट पर्सन्स किल्ड" इसको छोड़ देता हूं। जैसा कि गुप्ता जी ने कहा कि नैबरिंग कंट्री के नेता के बारे में कहा गया और जब उस देश के प्रधान मंत्री ने खुद पाकिस्तान अधिकृत कश्मीर की राजधानी मुजफ्फराबाद से एलान कर दिया कि हम हर संभव मदद करेंगे अलगाववादियों को, इसके बाद भी आपके मन संदेह है कि हम क्या करें, हम कौन सा कदम उठायें ? इसके लिए तो पूरे तौर पर आपको एक राष्ट्र की हैसियत से पूरी ताकत के साथ आपको खड़ा होना है और इस बात के लिए भी तैयार रहना है कि कभी भी उकसावा इस हद तक बढ़ सकता है कि अलगाववादियों की सहायता करने के लिए उधर से तनाव बढ़ाने के लिए आपकी सरहद पर हमले भी हो सकते हैं, इसलिए इस बारे में मैं जानना चाहता हूं। आपने कहा कि मेजर्स लिये जा रहे हैं, स्टेप्स लिए जा रहे है, उसमें क्या-क्या आप कदम उठा रहे हैं ? जो वातावरण बना है या जो दिमाग बना है पाकिस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री का, हमको लगता है कि वहां खुद ही तनाव है पाकिस्तान में, उनके विरुद्ध अविश्वास का प्रस्ताव ला रहे हैं वहां के विरोधी दल के लोग, तो वे अपने यहां के तनाव को कम करने के लिए सरहद पर तनाव बढ़ाना चाहती है वहां की प्रधान मंत्री, तो इसके लिए भारत सरकार क्या कर रही है और किस स्तर पर इस सवाल को उठाना चाहती है ?

अब गुरुदास दास गुप्ता जी ने अमरीका की इसमें आलोचना कर दी। मैं समझता हूं कि इस वक्त जब कश्मीर के सवाल पर अमरीका का रुख बदला हुआ है और पहले से बहुत बदला हुआ है तो फिर पुराने ढंग से उस पर हमला करना, यह जो सी०पी०आई० का एक पुराना तरीका है हर तरीके से उस पर हमला करना वह उचित नहीं है, क्योंकि वह मानता रहा है अभी तक अमरीका कि इस पर प्लेबिसाइट हो, जनमतसंग्रह हो। लेकिन पहली दफा जब उसने कहा कि शिमला समझौते के तहत इस पर बातचीत हो सकती है तो मैं नहीं समझता हूं कि नाहक अमरीका को दुखाने के लिए हम कुछ ऐसा कदम उठाये और ऐसी बात बोलें इस संसद में कि अमरीका का जो बदला हुआ रुख है उसमें फिर परिवर्तन हो जाये, वह नाहक दुखी हो जाये।

पहले मैं चाहूंगा कि अमरीका इसमें सर्जनात्मक रोल अदा करे, कंस्ट्रक्टिव रोल प्ले करे। पाकिस्तान पर दबाव डाले कि वह अन्दरूनी मामले में हस्तक्षेप न करे और शिमला समझोते के तहत हम लोग बात करने को तैयार हैं। जो बिगडने की स्थिति है उसके बारे में कहना चाहता हूं कि गृह मंत्री पिता की हैसियत से सफल हो गए हैं लेकिन गृह मंत्री की हैसियत से असफल हो गए हैं। ज्यों ही रुबिया छुड़ाने में वहीं के आतंकवादियों को छोड़ा गया तो उससे आतंक का वातावरण तमाम नागरिकों में फैल गया कि सरकार कुछ है ही नहीं। सरकार नाम की कोई चीज नहीं है। अगर आतंकवादी ही सर्वेसर्वा हैं तो जिसके सामने भारत सरकार घुटने टेक देती है तो फिर हम लोगों की कोई सुरक्षा नहीं कर सकता। अपने बचाव के लिए वे लोग आतंकवादियों को शरण देने लगे हैं, उनके साथ हो गये हैं। जब मन में, वहां के नागरिकों के लोगों के निवासियों के मन में यह विश्वास हो जायेगा कि पाकिस्तान से इधर कोई नहीं आयेगा और आतंकवादी हमको तबाह नहीं कर सकेंगे, भारत सरकार या कश्मीर की सरकार हमें बचा सकती है तब कुछ हद तक इस समस्या का हल हो सकता है। जार्ज साहब ने कुछ बातें कही थीं। यह कहा था कि पालिटिकल प्रैशर शुरू करना चाहिए और पालिटिकल प्रैशर इसलिए नहीं हो रहा है कि भय व्याप्त है। भय कैसे दूर होगा यह सरकार बताये। अगर भय दूर हो जाए तो पालि-

[श्री राम अवधेश सिंह]

टिकल प्रैशर शुरू हो जायेगा । पालिटिकल प्रेशर शुरू हो जायेगा तो कांफिडैंस आ जायेगा क्योंकि यह एक दूसरे से जुड़ा हुआ है । मैं चाहता हूं कि जार्ज साहब इस बात को बतायें कि भारत सरकार कौन से कदम उठा रही है जिससे नागरिकों के मन में जो भय व्याप्त है वह दूर हो जाए और राजनीतिक प्रक्रिया शुरू हो जाए । भय सब का केन्द्रबिन्दु है, सारे कदम का केन्द्रबिन्दु है इसलिए भय को दूर करने के लिए ठोस कदम सरकार उठायेगी तो कश्मीर समस्या 60 प्रतिशत हल हो जायेगी और 40 प्रतिशत डिप्लोमेटिक तौर पर उसका हल करना होगा । जैसे रूस और अमेरिका पर दबाव डालने का डिप्लोमेटिक स्तर पर काम करना होगा । मैं यह कह रहा हूं कि रूस तो हमारे साथ है । वह वीटो करता रहा है । उसके खिलाफ़ मुझे नहीं बोलना है । अमेरिका और रूस दोनों सहमत हों तो मैं समझता हूं हमारा काम ज्यादा जल्दी और तेजी से बढ़ेगा । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि डिप्लोमेटिक स्तर पर भारत सरकार कश्मीर समस्या का समाधान किस तरह से हल करने जा रही है ?

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मंत्री महोदय ने जम्मू-कश्मीर की सिचुएशन पर जो स्टेटमेंट दी, कल इतना दबाव देने के बाद जो स्टेटमेंट निचोड़ कर निकला गया है उसे पढ़ कर ऐसा लगता है कि शायद कहीं तूफ़ान आ गया है और सरकार रिलीफ़ बांट रही है । वैसे ही यह स्टेटमेंट भी हमारे सामने पेश की गयी है ।

महोदय, जिस राज्य में पिछले कई महीनों से स्कूल, कालिज और मेडिकल कालिज बंद हैं वहां आप स्कूल और कालिजों की बिल्डिंगें बनाने के लिए पैसा दे रहे हैं, राहत दे रहे हैं । बड़ा आश्चर्य लगता है । आप वहां स्कूल-कालेज खुलवाइये जो बंद हैं । पहले बच्चों को तैयार कीजिये, उनके मां-बाप को तैयार कीजिये कि आप के बच्चे स्कूल जाएंगे तो सही-सलामत वापस आएंगे । पहले उन्हें तो तैयार कीजिए । सिर्फ़ सीमेन्ट और ईंटों की दीवार बना देने से और स्कूल बना देने से कोई फायदा नहीं है । यह आप करोड़ों की संख्या किसको गिना रहे हैं जिसे जम्मू-कश्मीर की हालत का पता न हो ? आज हिन्दुस्तान का बच्चा-बच्चा जानता है कि कश्मीर में एक आदमी गाड़ी में सफ़र नहीं कर सकता है, शिकारे पर नहीं घूम सकता है, बाजार में नहीं निकल सकता है, होटल में खाना खाने नहीं जा सकता है । सिनेमा, स्कूल और अस्पताल तो कोई जमाने से बंद हो गये हैं । फिर भी आपको गर्व है कि 26 जनवरी को कोई पाकिस्तानी झंडा नहीं चढ़ा.... (**व्यवधान**) । आज काश्मीर की हालत यह है कि गवर्नर साहब अपने राज भवन में नहीं रह सकते हैं, सैनिकों की बैरक में रहते हैं । काश्मीर में राज किसका है ? बैरक, बेनट, बुलेट और बेनजीर का । आपका तो राज है ही नहीं । वहां टी० वी० का प्रोग्राम किसका देखा जाता है । पाकिस्तान का । दूरदर्शन वहां से उठाकर दिल्ली आ गया है । वहां रेडियो कौन सा सुना जाता है--पाकिस्तान का । टी० वी० वहा से हटा लिया गया, रेडियो हटा लिया गया, होस्पिटल बंद हो गये हैं, स्कूल-कालेज बंद हो गये हैं । आप राहत दे रहे हैं और कह रहे हैं कि स्कूल की ईंटों की दीवार खड़ी कर रहे हैं, बड़ी बहादुरी का काम कर रहे हैं । आपने कहा कि दो कमिश्नरों की टास्क फ़ोर्स लगा दी है । गर्व से मंत्री महोदय ने कहा कि वे काश्मीर केडर के हैं । मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि आज की तारीख में काश्मीर के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन मे जो लोग हैं उनमें से कितने काश्मीर ओरिजिन के अफ़सर हैं, यह बताने की कृपा करें । जैसे यू०पी०एस०सी० के रूल्स और रेगुलेशन्स हैं उनमें 33 प्रतिशत स्टेट सर्विस के लोग प्रमोट होते हैं, सिर्फ़ 33 प्रतिशत ही आई०ए०एस० मे जा सकते हैं । ऐसी हालत में कितने लोग लगे हुए हैं जो पब्लिक के कांफ़िडैन्स को विन ओवर कर सकते हैं ? आपने एक छोटी-सी बात कही और 17 जनवरी को कहा कि काश्मीर की हालत पंजाब से भी बदतर है ! दूसरे दिन श्री जगमोहन को गवर्नर बना कर भेज दिया और तीसरे दिन वहां के मुख्य मंत्री का इस्तीफ़ा ले लिया ।

आज तक आप ऐसा एसेसमेंट नहीं कर सके कि इन हालात के पीछे कौन सी करतूतें चल रही हैं । आप गर्व से नहीं कह सकते कि कौन आदमी हैं, कौन आग लगा रहे हैं, कौन लाशों की सौदागरी कर रहे हैं ? इनको एसेसमेंट करने की जरूरत है । मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि रमजान शुरू होने जा रहा है कश्मीर में लोगों को कहा गया है कि इस रमजान में हमारे साथ आपको रोजा रखना पड़ेगा और अगर नहीं रखोगे तो आप यहां रह नहीं सकते । मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या उन्होंने 30 प्रामिनेंट पंडितों की लिस्ट बनाई है, जो उन्होंने जगह-जगह पर टांगी है और कहा है, एक स्पेसिफ़िक डेट इस मंथ के अन्त की दी है और कहा है कि यदि उस डेट तक वे वह इलाका छोड़कर नहीं गये तो उन्हें मार डाला जायेगा ? मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि इस रमजान में वहां पर माइनारिटी कम्यूनिटी की रक्षा करने के लिये सरकार ने क्या व्यवस्था की है ? वहां पर वे अपने घरों में चूल्हा चौका जला सकेंगे और दोनों टाइम खाना बना सकेंगे ? जैसा कि उनका फ़रमान है कि रमजान के वक्त कोई भी दिन में खाना नहीं बनायेगा और न खायेगा । यही कमजोरियां हैं कि मंत्री महोदय को चीजों का पता नहीं है और न पता लगाने की कोशिश की है । इस स्टेटमेंट में एक जगह लिखकर भी उसको काट दिया है कि पुंछ, रजौरी और डोंडा डिस्ट्रिक्टस में भी उनके कार्यकलाप शुरू हो गये हैं । लिखकर भी उसको काट दिया गया है । महोदय, जब हाउस में मेंबर आफ़ पार्लियामेंट को बताने के लिये मंत्री महोदय आ रहे हैं तो यह एग्रिहेंसन क्यों है और रिपोर्ट लिखकर ऊपर से कलम क्यों चलाई जाती है ?

महोदय, कश्मीर से बहुत सारे सिख भी भागे चले आ रहे हैं । और तो और कुछ पैसे वाले मुसलमानों ने भी अपने परिवारों को वहां से हटा लिया है । मैं आपके माध्यम से पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या इस बात की खबर आपको है कि वहां से सिखों को इसलिये भगाया जा रहा है क्योंकि इस बार जे०के०एल०एफ़० का जो प्रदर्शन लंदन के हाइड पार्क में हुआ तो वहां खालिस्तान के समर्थकों ने उनका समर्थन नहीं किया, जिसके कारण उन्होंने वहां से सिखों को भगाना शुरू कर दिया है । महोदय, यह जो रोज ट्रेनें भरकर आ रही हैं और आपके नीचे दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन जो है वह उनको कोई सुख सुविधायें देने के लिये तैयार नहीं है । मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से कहना चाहता हूं ना तो आप उन्हें जम्मू-कश्मीर में सुरक्षा देने में सक्षम है और न दिल्ली में उनके रहने का बंदोबस्त करने में सक्षम है । आपके दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन ने लिखकर भेज दिया है कि हम किसी रिफ्यूजी, रिफ्यूजी अपशब्द है, खराब है, परन्तु उन्हें ऐसा महसूस कराया जा रहा है कि वे हिन्दुस्तान के नागरिक नहीं हैं कहीं और के हैं । महोदय, ये कौन से आफ़िसर हैं जो ये चालाकियां कर रहे हैं, ये कौन से आफ़िसर हैं जो इस तरह की बेइंसाफ़ी कर रहे हैं, इस मुल्क के लोगों के साथ ।

महोदय, मीर मुस्तफ़ा को गाज पर लटका दिया गया । मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि जब डा० रूबिया को छुड़ाने के लिये इन्होंने मीडियेट करने के लिये मीर मुस्तफ़ा, एम०एल०ए० का प्रयोग किया और डा० रूबिया उसके बाद पूर्ण सुरक्षा में रहती हैं तो क्या इन्होंने मीर मुस्तफ़ा की सुरक्षा की कोई व्यवस्था की थी ? अगर नहीं तो क्यों और अगर की थी तो उनका बीच में किडनैप कैसे हुआ ? महोदय,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODAR): Please conclude.

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह आहलुवालिया: मैं आ रहा हूं ।

महोदय इस सदन के एक सदस्य श्री गुलाम रसूल मट्टू ने गृह मंत्री से गुजारिश की थी कि या तो उनके कश्मीर के घर का बंदोबस्त और उनकी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाए, दिल्ली में भी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था की जाय तभी इस सदन के सदस्य रह सकते हैं अन्यथा नहीं । जहां

(श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया)

तक मुझे ज्ञात है कि सरकार उनको और उनके परिवार के सदस्यों को सुरक्षा देने में सक्षम नहीं हो सकी जिसके कारण उन्होंने इस्तीफ़ा दिया ।

महोदय, मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि यह जो ताकतें हैं जैसे कि मेरे पूर्व वक्ताओं ने भी मांग की है, पाकिस्तान का नाम क्यों नहीं आता ? मैं आपके माध्यम से फिर गुजारिश करता हूं कि आपने कश्मीर का प्रभारी मंत्री एक ऐसे आदमी को बनाया है जो पाकिस्तान का दोस्त है । मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से फिर गुजारिश करता हूं कि इनको कश्मीर के प्रभारी मंत्रित्व से निकाल दिया जाए । जब तक यह रहेगा, यह हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के हक की बात नहीं करेगा ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Shri Shabbir Ahmad Salaria.

Not here.

Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty.

Not here.

Dr. Yelamanchili Sivaji.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: There are 70 killings of political activitists in Kashmir and it appears that it is intended to neuteralise action initiated by the Government and the Minister. How do you propose to boost the morale of secular elemnts in the valley? I am of the opinion that the peasantry as well as agricultural labourers in the rural areas are against secessionist and terrorist activities. How does the Government propose to safeguard those elements in the rural areas? The hon. Minister has mentioned in this statement that 30 Government servants are said to be disloyal to the Government. What action has been taken to screen the entire services so that the fifth columnists may stand exposed and to safeguard the loyalists, what action is initiated by the Government?

As is well known, the terrorists are taking training in Pakistan and they are coming back to India to undertake subversive activities to paralyse the administrative machinery and also to kill the secular political activities. How does the Government propose to isolate these terrorists and to curb their activities? The minority population is fleeing from the Valley and they may come back in the near future. How does the Government propose to see that their properties and belonging are protected? About 25,000 families have fled from the Valley. How does the Government propose to safeguard the interests and properties of the minority element in this valley? Is the border completely closed and is it effective to see that the terrorists may not go out and come in very frequently to undertake such activities?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Mr. Vishvjit P. Singh. Please be brief. Kindly finish it in two minutes.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Sir, I have already told you that I will be taking a very very short time and in spite of that, Sir, I request you that I will ask three or four questions and I must be given time to ask those questions considering the fact that others have spoken for half-an-hour or 45 minutes....(*Interruptions*)...

AN HON. MEMBER: He must be given time according to his size.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Don't waste time. Please start.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: I have been recognised by the Chair and he has looked at me. What is important is that I should be called to speak. Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, we asked for a discussion on Kashmir, a full-fledged discussion, not just a statement. But a full-fledged discussion is not there. He has made a statement only. Is this a discussion? We asked for a full-fledged discussion on Kashmir, Sir.

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: We had a full-fledged discussion last week.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: The situation is different from what it was last week. It was asked for yesterday at 11 o'clock and I find that the Minister has taken 32 hours. I find that the Minister has taken 32 hours to produce this statement which conceals more than it reveals and what it reveals is itself very revealing.

Sir, those portions of the statement which have been scored out by the Department or by the Minister-I do not know who has done it—are, in my opinion, the most revealing parts of the statement. In fact, I do not know who the Minister is... (*Interruptions*)... It is said here that the secessionist elements are also making overt and concerted attempts to spread their activities to Poonch, Rajouri and Doda districts of Jammu. I would like to know from the honourable Minister whether this is correct, whether the terrorist and the secessionist activities are taking place in this area and, if it is so, then this is adding another complication to the whole problem. This is far more dangerous. It is now spreading from the Valley further into these areas. I would like to know from the Minister what steps are being taken because so far whatever steps that we are told have been taken in the Valley to protect the populace of Jammu against this cancer, against this canker, against this aweful incrustration which is taking place in that part of the country, have failed. Therefore, I would like to know what steps the Government is taking now in this connection.

Further, there is a second part which has been scored out and that is adding another dimension. It says that the militants are trying to internationalise the issue through systematic disinformation, seditious propaganda, with the active assistance of the forces operating from across the border. I would like to tell the House why this is very much more dangerous. It is because so far we have been taking of the internationalisation of the situation by our neighbour, Pakistan. But it is not by our neighbour, but it is now by the secessionists themselves. In other words, the militants are reoming about in the capitals of the countries of the world spreading disinformation. I would like to know from the Government whether this is correct, whether it is the militants themselves who are also trying to internationalise the situation and, if it is so, I would like to know what steps you are taking in the regard.

Sir, the Minister has said and taken credit that they have managed to contain the internationalising of this issue. But that is no credit to the Minister, that is a credit to the fund of goodwill left behind internationally by the previous Government. That is number one. Secondly, the credit is to the alacrity of the present Minister of External Affairs, my friend,, Mr. Gujaral, and it is no credit to you, Mufti Saheb. I am sorry to say so.

In the statement—it is on page 5—it has been said that an Advisory Committee consisting of the representatives of the various political parties to assist the Minister has also been set up. I believe that two such Advisory Committee have been set up, one for the Governor—Am I right?—and another for Mr. Fernandes. But I do not know whom it is for. But I would like to know who the people are who are advising you on Kashmir, no matter what you call them. We may call them Advisers or Advisory Committee. Whatever you may call them, I would like to know who they are. I raised certain points the other day when I was speaking on Kashmir. But, unfortunately, those points were not replied to. But one particular point I would like to know. Who are these people and what is their background and what is their expertise?

Once again, Sir, I would like to know from the honourable Minister what the action plan of the Government is. This is no action plan at all. As Mrs. Jayanthi Natarajan has said, as Mr. Ahluwalia has said and even as Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta, my old comrade, has said, there has to be an action plan and I would like to know what that plan is. It is not enough

[Shri Vishvajit P. Singh]

merely to sanction money and it is not enough to appoint committees. I would like to know how you expect to revitalise the administration. How do you expect to contain this menace which has now assumed proportions which I am horrified at? I was informed in the Lobby by my good friend, Mr. Rajmohan Gandhi, a little while ago that there is going to be threat. They have said 31st March is the cut-off date. They have set 31st March and said that all Hindus must migrate from the Valley by the 31st March or they will have to convert or at least show obeisance to all the precepts of the Muslim way of life. And further they have said if the Hindus do not leave or if they do not succumb, their one ear will be cut off. This is the kind of threat that is being given and this is taken very seriously. I would like to know from the honourable Minister what his action plan is. In the final analysis our problem with this Government is that they keep asking us what we should do. It is a Government of consensus by consensus. I agree consensus is a good thing. But consensus also means that you yourself have to initiate a policy. Your policy may be guided by the perceptions of all the people whom you want to carry with you including us. But it does not mean that you should not plan on your own. You have to come out with something. For heaven's stake, please come out with something of your own. Kashmir is burning. This country is affire. One portion of your own supporters are going around spreading a propaganda all over the country saying that we are for the removal of 370. Let me tell you they are capitalising on it at your cost I would once again ask you: What is your action plan? How do you plan to combat this menace? I hope the honourable Minister will give some definite answers to these queries.

Sir, you can see I have been very short, not at all like the others. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Now the Home Minister...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Sir, kindly give me two minutes.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG (Gujarat): Please give us some time.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: Sir, I was very short. Please give my time to them.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh) This is not a debate.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): I have called five or six Members from the Opposition. They have spoken. It is not possible to give time to everyone.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Kindly allow me just one minute.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: We are all waiting here. We should also get some time.

श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग : मान्यवर, पहले आपको 30-30 मिनट समय नहीं देना चाहिए, अगर दूसरे सदस्यों का समय आप इस तरह काटते हैं।...(व्यवधान) अगर दूसरे सदस्यों को 20-20 या 25-25 मिनट रेस्ट्रिक्ट किया होता, तो सब लोगों का जवाब आ जाता।... (व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): All right then. Don't take more then two minutes each. I will ring the bell after two minutes. Dr. Ratnagar Pandey.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : चारूरा, पुलवामा के भूतपूर्व विधायक... (व्यवधान)

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: You should have restricted the time from the very beginning. Now you are asking us to restrict to two minutes. This is very unfair.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी। यह स्टेटमेंट पहले दिन में होने वाला था। विरोधी दल के नेता ने सुझाव दिया कि साढ़े छह बजे होना चाहिए।

कश्मीर पर फिर से बहस हो जाए, इस पर किसी को एतराज नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन कोई सीमा होनी चाहिए। आखिर स्पष्टीकरण मांगे जाने हैं। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री मिर्जा ईर्शाद बेग : मैं वाजपेयी जी का समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : विरोधी दल के सुझाव पर साढ़े छह का समय रखा गया था।

श्री मिर्जा ईर्शाद बेग : रेस्ट्रिक्शन पहले नहीं लगाई गई और बाद में लगाई जाती है, मुझे इस पर आपत्ति है।

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I also endorse the view of Mr. Vajpayee. Is this going to be a full-scale debate? At this rate can you control the House?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Let me try. They are going to speak only for two minutes.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: He cannot control you. He controls others.

(*Interruptions*)

श्री रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: मान्यवर, काश्मीर मे आग लग रही है और इस समय लद्दाख श्रीनगर और जम्मू–तीन सेक्टरों में हमारा काश्मीर बंटा हुआ है सर्वदलीय समिति भी वहां गयी उसकी वहां ऐसी दुर्गति हुई कि गवर्नर ने होटल के बाहर भी नहीं निकलने दिया और उस ने जो स्टेटमेंट दिया, उसका कोई असर काश्मीर की जनता पर नहीं पड़ रहा है वहां 36 आर्गनाइजेशंस स्वतंत्र काश्मीर की मांग कर रहे हैं और उन आर्गनाइजेशंस के माध्यम से "मटन" पंडितों को आजाद काश्मीर में "मटन" शब्द से सम्बोधित करते हैं ..

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : "मटन" एक तीर्थ का नाम है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Do not disturb him. I have given him 2 minutes.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : "मटन" तीर्थ स्थल है पंडित जी, लेकिन वहां कहां गया है कि पंडित यानी हिन्दू वहां नहीं रह सकते हैं, हिंदुआइनें रह सकती हैं। वहां एक तिथि निर्धारित की गयी है कि इस तिथि को सारे लोग छोड़कर चले जाएं। हिंदुस्तान हमारा दुश्मन है। "इंडियन डाग्स गो बैक।" इस तरह का नारा लग रहा है। स्कूल कालेज बंद हैं। जो सी०बी०आई० की सूचना है, वह विच्छृ-श्रृंखलित है। सबसे बड़े दुख की बात यह है कि पी०टी०आई०, यू०एन० आई०, आकाशवाणी और दूरदर्शन आदि के समाचार दिल्ली से तैयार कर प्रसारित किए जाते हैं क्योंकि वहां हत्याएं कर दी गयी हैं और पाकिस्तान रेडियो सुना जा रहा है। वहां पर शंकराचार्य का मंदिर है, वहां पर अमरनाथ का तीर्थ स्थल है, वैष्णो देवी का मंदिर है। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर ये सब जो हिन्दुओं के धार्मिक स्थल हैं, उनके सुरक्षा की क्या व्यवस्था आपने करवायी है। मुझे इसलिए पूछना है क्योंकि लड़ाई के बाद "कैलाश" चीन के हिस्से में चला गया।

महोदय, मंत्री महोदय का वक्तव्य सत्य नहीं है। एक लाख काश्मीर के लोग केवल दिल्ली में नहीं, हरिद्वार में जयपुर में चंडीगढ़ और जहां भी जगह मिल रही है जा रहे हैं। मेरे पास भी कुछ लोग आए थे। उनकी बड़ी दुर्व्यस्था है। वे आतंक से बोझिल होकर अपने परवारों को लेकर आ रहे हैं और जिस दयनीय स्थिति में जी रहे हैं उसके लिए सरकार क्या कर रही है? हमारी जितने भी वर्तमान और भूतपूर्व सांसद हैं चाहे वे किसी भी दल के हों, विधायक और भी जो प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक हैं उनकी सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था के लिए आपने क्या किया है? आपका यह वक्तव्य "सब कुछ लुटाकर होश में आए तो क्या किया, दिन में अगर चिराग जलाए तो क्या किया" वाला काल्पनिक वक्तव्य है। वास्तविकता यह है कि पाकिस्तान हमको धमकी दे चुका है कि काश्मीर स्वतंत्र कराकर रहेंगे, अपने देश का हिस्सा बनाकर रहेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में इंटरनेशनल स्टेंडिंग बनाने की पाकिस्तान कोशिश कर रहा है। आप उसके लिए क्या कोशिश कर रहे हैं। सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि 'शिमला समझौते' की दुहाई दी जाती है जबकि पाकिस्तान उसको नहीं

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

मान रहा है । वहां से हमारी ग्रिप समाप्त हो चुकी है । आज स्थिति यह है कि काश्मीर अपने को स्वतंत्र होने की मांग कर सकता है । उसमें हमें भ्रम में नहीं रहना चाहिए । महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से बड़े अदब और इज्जत के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारी बहिन रूबिया का जो अपहरण हुआ, उसके बाद उनका मनोबल इतना बढ़ गया है कि वे सोचते हैं कि जब हम गृह मंत्री महोदय की बेटी, भारत की बेटी, का अपहरण कर अपने आतंकवादियों को मुक्त करा सकते हैं तो हम जो चाहें वह करा सकते हैं । वह हमारे झंडे का, हमारे संविधान का, भारतीयता का, हमारे राष्ट्र चिन्ह का अपमान हो रहा है । वहां के जो नेशनलाइज्ड बैंक्स हैं, उन से रुपया निकालकर जम्मू काश्मीर बैंक में वहां के नागरिकों से जमा करवाया गया है । वहां जब दुकानदार को पैसा दिया जाता है, सौ रुपए का नोट दिया जाता है तो दुकानदार जो सिक्के लौटाते हैं वह पाकिस्तान की मुद्रा होती है, भारत की मुद्रा नहीं होती । ऐसी परिस्थिति में वहां आप स्कूल बनवा दें या 25 करोड़ की योजना दे दें या अगर कुछ दे दें, मगर काश्मीर के लोगों की मानसिकता बदलने के लिए आपके पास क्या उपाय हैं ? काश्मीर आज वीरान हो रहा है। ....(समय की घंटी) ....उस सुन्दर नगरी में आज आग जल रही है, उस आग को बुझाने के लिए सरकार क्या उपाय कर रही है ? यह मैं जानना चाहता हूं ।

SHRI P. N. SUKUL (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, the situation in Kashmir is really very grim. I agree with the Home Minister when he says that it does not brook any partisan approach. Everyday killings are being continued. They are continunig unabated. Incidents of arson and violence are repeating themselves. People are being kidnapped. Their property is being looted. As per the Statement 2500 families have left their hearths and homes. It means that 100,000 people have migrated. It is not merely a law and order problem. Our very integrity stands badly threatened. The situation seems to be advancing almost a point of no return. What we find is that all the efforts made by the Government so far did not fructify at all. What is pitiable is that we have a Home Minister who is from Kashmir, who is a Muslim and all the terrorists are Muslims and Kashmiris and still our Muslim Kahmiri Union Home Minister is not able to tackle the situation. People...

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: What does he mean? A responsible Congress Member speaks like that.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: He understands the situation best. Should we say that the Home Minister does not want to solve the Kashmir problem?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Sukul, you are a respected Member of the House. You must understand.

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY (West Bengal): Do you know the language that you are using?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: I am simply stating the fact.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: What is the fact.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Don't we have a Home Minister from Kashmir?

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Is it the way to accuse the hon. Minister before the whole world?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Mr. Sukul, he is the Home Minister of India. It does not matter whether he is Hindu. Muslim or Sikh.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: What is the point in calling the Home Minister a Muslim?

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: It is a fact.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, I put it on record that it is an irresponsible statement from a senior Member like Mr. Sukul.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: No. It is not a communal statement.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Mr. Sukul did not want to cast any aspersions whatsoever on the Home Minister. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL : If I call you a Hindu, do I condemn you ?

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: You please listen to what I am saying.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Mr. Bansal, please sit down. Everybody should be careful... (*Interruptions*)

SHRI P. N. SUKUL : Sir, what I was saying is that people say...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Kashmir is a very delicate and serious issue. Don't make any statement...

SHRI P. N. SUKUL : ... that the Home Minister being from Kashmir does not want to go to Kashmir...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : ... which might communalise the issue.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: No communalisation at all.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, when you make an observation, I think, I have a right to reply. From the Chair you said, Sir, that we should not communalise the issue, and from my Party I have a right to say something on that. Sir, with utmost respect to the hon. Minister and keeping in view the sentiments of the House and keeping in mind what the Congress stands for, I with all humility say that we do not communalise any issue. Mr. Sukul did not mean to cast any aspersions whatever on the Minister.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL : Not at all absolutely.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR R. K. PODDAR) : All right, that explanation is accepted. Please go to the next point.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL : Sir, what you said and what they have said has gone on record. That is what prompted me to say that all that Mr. Sukul wanted to say was that Mr. Mufti Mohammad Sayeed understands the psyche of the people...

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): You have said what you wanted to say.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: You have not let me complete the sentence that I wanted to say. All that Mr. Sukul wanted to say was that the Home Minister understands the psyche of the people. He will understand the people. And therefore he should be in a position to devise some method whereby we can control the situation from being further aggravated in Jammu and Kashmir. (*Interruptions*) The Government also said that we want a Sikh Minister. Mind you, Your Government said that. You have not been able to find one. Why did you say so? You want somebody in the Central Cabinet who can understand the psyche of the people of Punjab. (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Please sit down.

SHRI P. N. SUKUL: Sir, on the 22nd of this very March, one man in Noida heard a broadcast from the Peshawar radio station, and the broadcast said that 100 officers of the Jammu and Kashmir Government will be liquidated by 31st March, 1990. The very next day, as soon as he informed me, I wrote to the Home Minister and I wrote to the Prime Minister. I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister as to what has so far been done to protect the lives of these people, and whether the lives of these people have been actually threatened or not, and if they have been threatened, what the Government has done to avoid their liquidation. Today, I have come to know that Praneet, the son of a noted industrialist, Shri Raj Sehni has been killed by the terrorists in the Valley.

The hon. Home Minister has mentioned that 'suitable arrangements are being made for looking after the migrant people till they are able to return to the

[Shri P. N. Sukul]

Valley'. I want to know what arrangements are being made or have been made in this connection. In para 6, it is mentioned about 'preventive arrests of criminals, etc.' I would like to know how many terrorists have been arrested so far and what has been the result of the systematic follow-up raids and combing operations. Have they borne any fruits? Our Prime Minister has often said that we have to win over the hearts of Kashmiris. We have to win over, he always says. So many times he has said it. He becomes emotional or he tries to become emotional and he says we have to win over the hearts of Kashmiris. But what is being done to win over the hearts of Kashmiris, I want to know. What is being done? Merely the appointment of a Minister in charge of Kashmir, that will not win over the hearts of Kashmiris. Sir, in the end I would like to know whether or not the situation has deteriorated since the appointment of Shri Jagmohan as the Governor of Jammu and Kashmir and if it has really deteriorated during his time, then why the Government is delaying his replacement by a better person more suitable to the job and when will Shri Jagmohan be removed". Will he be removed only after thousands and thousands of Kashmiris are killed? I want enlightenment from the Minister on all these points. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Thank you. Mr. Minister will now reply. (*Interruptions*). No more please.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Sir, ... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): No. Let the Minister reply now. No, I have used my discretion. I have asked the Minister to reply. (*Interruptions*). No more clarifications Please.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Sir, may I ask... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Sir, just a few clarifications only. (*Interruptons*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Your name was called but you were not there. (*Interruptions*). Please sit down.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Sir, the second point is whether what Mr. Swamy has said, is it correct that army has moved into certain parts of Jammu for maintaining law and order and the third is what steps were taken to rescue Mir Mustafa?

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Sir, I am very sorry about your ruling... (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Mr. Minister please proceed with the reply.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : वाईस चेयरमैन सर, पिछले दिनों यहां राज्यसभा में... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग : महोदय हमें बोलने का मौका दीजिये। हम रिटायर हो रहे हैं, यह आवाज फिर नहीं गूंजेगी इस सदन में।

(*At this stake the Hon. Minister left the Chamber*)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : महोदय, जम्मू कश्मीर की जो स्थिति है उस पर पिछले दिनों 8–9 घंटे तक पूरी डिटेल से बहस हुई है और उस वक्त भी आनरेबल मेंबर्स ने तशवीश का इजहार किया। कश्मीर की समस्या जो है वह मौजूदा सरकार की पैदा की हुई नहीं है। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि 1987 से लेकर 19 जनवरी, 1990 तक डा. फारूक अब्दुल्ला की सरकार थी, नेशनल कांफ्रेंस-कांग्रेस की सरकार थी। पिछले जो लोकसभा के चुनाव हुए, इन चुनावों में इन दोनों पार्टियों का इतना ऐलीनेशन लोगों से था कि दो परसेंट से ज्यादा कश्मीर के लोगों ने ... (**व्यवधान**)

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप भाषण कर रहे हैं। .... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : मैं हर एक सवाल का जवाब दूंगा आप बैठ जाइए ... (**व्यवधान**)

डा. रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : आप मीर मुस्तफा के बारे में बताइए ....(व्यवधान)

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : मीर मुस्तफा की क्या हिफाजत की आपने ? .... (व्यवधान)

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Sir, ...(*Interruptions*)

यह कोई कायदा हैं

You cannot do that. You will have to listen. I have to speak. You cannot interrupt like that.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: He has not to give a speech. He has to give clarifications. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: No, this is wrong. He cannot dictate. (*Interruptions*). You cannot dictate.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH: He is not to give a political speech. He should reply to the points raised by the Members.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: What else did he do? (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR): Nothing will go on record except the speech of the Minister. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED: Who is responsible for this? Don't interrupt like that. I did not interrupt you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Let the hon. Minister reply. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MUFTI MOHAMMAD SAYEED : I did not interrupt you. Why do you interrupt me? How can you do like that? (*Interruptions*) Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, you should not permit this. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY : Sir, why did he call the all-party meeting? (*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Here, he is only replying to the clarifications sought by the hon. Members. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Sir, I am on a point of order.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : There is no point of order. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : I have not even mentioned what is my point of order How can rule it out? It is a fundamental right of every Member of the House. (*Interruptions*). My point of order is this. When the hon. Home Minister started his speech, he said something about the Congress (I) and the National Conference. We would like to raise our objection in this regard. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : What is the point of order? (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : I shall not be intimidated by you. I am addressing the Chair. (*Interruptions*) We wanted to raise our objection to what the hon. Home Minister has said. (*Interruptions*) But Sir, you said that whatever we say from this side will not go on record. (*Interruptions*) How can you do that? We have a right to raise our objection. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA : The Home Minister is making a political speech.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : He has just started his reply.

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH : Sir, this is completely unprecedented. After the clarifications have been sought, the hon. Minister, instead of replying to the clarifications, has started giving a political speech. This is completely unprecedented. This has never happened. This is for the first time that such a thing is happening in the House. (*Interruptions*) He has been a Minister before also. He knows the procedure. I am quite amazed that this practice is going to be allowed that a Minister, instead of replying to the queries, starts giving a political speech. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : Is there anything unparliamentary in what we were saying ? We were only raising our objection. How can you rule it out, Sir ? (*Interruptions*) This is a valuable right of every Member of this House. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : You cannot challenge the Chair. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN : How can you rule it out ? (*Interruptions*) How can you rule it out like that ? (*Interruptions*)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : मेरा कहना था कि जो काश्मीर की समस्या है, जो पिछले सालों से हालात हुए हैं और इन हालातों से जो मौजूदा नेशनल फ्रंट की सरकार है वह निपटने के लिए जिम्मेदार है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं। यह हमारी तरफ़ से और प्राइम मिनिस्टर की तरफ़ से कोशिशें हुई कि तमाम पार्टीज को.... **(व्यवधान)**

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : प्राइम मिनिस्टर खुद क्यों नहीं जाते काश्मीर ? .... **(व्यवधान)**

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Dr. Pandey, kindly cooperate with the Chair.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : आल पार्टीज का डेलिगेशन श्रीनगर गया और वापसी पर उनकी प्राइम मिनिस्टर से मीटिंग हुई और उनके सुझाव पर एक एडवाइजरी कमेटी बनी और उस आल पार्टीज कमेटी के सुझाव पर काश्मीर अफ़ेयर्स के लिए एक अलहदा मिनिस्टर हुआ। ये सारी बातें तय हुई। उसके बाद काश्मीर अफ़ेयर्स मिनिस्टर ने उनके साथ दो मीटिंगें यहां ले लीं और उनके सुझाव पर, उनके सजेस्शन पर जो काश्मीर से कुछ लोग आए हैं अपने घरों को छोड़कर जम्मू में, उनके हालात को देखकर उनकी इमदाद के लिए, रिहैबिलिटेशन के लिए कुछ कदम उठाए। यहां भी जो दिल्ली में थे उनके यहां भी गये। उनके रिहैबिलिटेशन के लिए कुछ कदम उठाये गये हैं। इसी दौरान यह कैसे हो सकता है कि एक बहुत बड़ी अपोजिशन पार्टी, कांग्रेस पार्टी और नेशनल कांफ्रेंस--अगर किसी पार्टी की साख है तो इन दो पार्टियों की ही है--उनका मैम्बर यह कह कर इससे अपने आप को विद्ड्रा करे तो यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं। कश्मीर इश् एक नेशनल इशू है। सारी बातें आप से मश्विरा करके, आप से कंसल्ट करके की गयी है तब किसी अखबार में, न्यूज पेपर में एक मैम्बर यह कह दे कि मिनिस्टर साहब ने यह कहा, मिनिस्टर साहब ने वह कहा और अपने आप को विद्ड्रा करता है तो इस बात की तरफ़ आपको सोचना चाहिए।

दूसरी तरफ़ कश्मीर में जो हालात है उसके लिए यह कहा जा रहा है कि एक गवर्नर की अपाएंटमेंट यानी जगमोहन की अपाएंटमेंट से सारी स्थिति में तबदीली हुई है। पांच साल से जब कांग्रेस सरकार थी उस समय भी वह वहां रहे थे इसी कारण मौजूदा सरकार ने सोच समझ कर जगमोहन को वहां भेजने का फ़ैसला किया। मैं समझता हूं कश्मीर के हालात को डील करने के लिए जगमोहन वाजिब व्यक्ति हैं। वे कश्मीर के हालात से अच्छी तरह से वाकिफ़ हैं इसी कारण हमने उनको इन हालात से डील करने के लिए मुनासिब समझा और उनको गवर्नर बना कर भेज दिया।

आल पार्टीज डेलीगेशन श्रीनगर गया था। सब लोगों की यह राय थी यूनेनिमसली राय थी कि वहां जगमोहन को रखा जाए और इस वक्त उनका बदलना ठीक नहीं होगा। वह सरेंडर लगेगा टैरेरिस्टो के सामने। वह सरेंडर लगेगा पाकिस्तानी एलीमेंट्स के सामने। जगमोहन के आने से पहले कम्पलीट कांलेप्स आफ एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन था। श्रीनगर में किसी, डिस्ट्रिक्ट में कोई अफ़सर नहीं था श्रीनगर में कोई हैड आफ़ द डिपार्टमेंट नहीं था। आज यह सही है कि एलीनेशन लोगों का काफी हो गया है। उसमें क्या वजूहात हैं उसमें मैं जाना नहीं चाहता।

आप देख रहे हैं लोकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का कोआपरेशन। कश्मीर की पुलिस ने सारे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को इन्वाल्व किया हुआ है। पालिटिकली कोई फंक्शन नहीं है—चाहे नेशनल कांफ्रेंस हो, कांग्रेस हो, किसी पार्टी की कोई एक्टिविटी नहीं है। घर में लोग बैठे हैं उनको मारा जा रहा है। सीपीआई के लीडर गंजू को यह कहा गया कि वह जेकेएलएफ़ का झंडा अपने यहां लगायें। उन्होंने कहा मैं नहीं लगा सकता। उसको हमने सेक्योरिटी भी ऑफ़र की लेकिन उसने कहा कि मुझे सेक्योरिटी की भी कोई जरूरत नहीं है। मीर मुस्तफ़ा ने बयान दिया कि मिलिटेंट के साथ बात करनी चाहिए। मीर गुलाम मुस्तफ़ा इंडीपेंडेंट थे। आप को पता है किस तरह से उनको स्ट्रेंगुलेट किया गया, कैसे मारा गया। गुलाम नबी कलर जो कांग्रेस में थे और 1959 में मेरे साथ रहे, वह घर में बैठे हुए थे, उनके घर से चुन-चुन कर मारा गया। जब से यह माहौल शुरू हुआ है किसी पार्टी की कोई एक्टिविटी नहीं है। आम लोगों का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, जो फ़ार्सेस देश के साथ हैं उनके लिए माहौल बनाया जाए। आम लोग नब्ज को टेस्ट कर रहे हैं कि किस तरह से टैरेस्टिों को डील किया जा रहा है। आप कहते हैं कि जगमोहन के जाने से क्या हुआ तो मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि पहले जो फ़ायरिंग होती थी, एक तरफ़ निकल जाते थे मिलिटेंट फ़ायरिंग करते हुए वे अपने आगे औरतों को, बच्चों को रखते थे और फ़िर कहीं कोई उनका मुकाबला नहीं करता था। मैंने पहले भी मिसालें दी। जब समय नील कंठ गंजू घर से निकले कि उनको गोली से मार दिया। तीन घंटे तक उसकी लाश के नजदीक कोई नहीं गया। एक एस. एच. ओ. था जिसने अपने फ़र्ज को निभाया था। 4 बजे मस्जिद से निकला तो गोली चलाई गई, कोई नजदीक नहीं गया। एक टिकलू था, घर से बाहर निकला तो उसको गोली लगाई गई। एक किस्म का डर का माहौल, फेयर साकोसिस, पैदा किया गया। लोग कहते हैं कि कर्फ्यू नहीं लगाना चाहिए। हम भी यही कहते हैं। अभी श्रीनगर शहर के अलावा किसी कस्बे में कर्फ्यू नहीं है, रिलेक्सेशन है। लोग मारे जाते हैं और इन लोगों को पनाह भी दी जाती है। टेरोरिस्ट्स को पकड़ने के लिए घरों में जाना है, मुहल्लों में जाना है, वहां घरों से उनको निकालना है। सौ के करीब टेरोरिस्ट्स पिछले डेढ़ महीने में पकड़े गये हैं और 25 के करीब बार्डर क्रोस करने वाले पकड़े गये। हमारी तरफ़ से इन हालात को सम्भालने के लिए पूरी कोशिश हो रही है। अभी जो श्रीनगर के दर्रे हैं, पहाड़ों पर बर्फ़ है। हमारी कोशिश होगी कि जितनी भी हमारे पास फ़ोर्स है, पैरा मिलिटरी फ़ोर्स है, जैसे बी.एस.एफ़. है और लोकल पुलिस है, इन सब के जरिये इंफिल्ट्रेशन बन्द करना है।

यहां पर कहा गया कि पाकिस्तान का जिक्र नहीं किया गया। प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कल ही अपने रिप्लाई में कह दिया। पाकिस्तान ने कुछ छिपाया नहीं है। पाकिस्तान की प्राइम मिनिस्टर बेनीजीर ने पाक ऑकुपाइड काश्मीर में जाकर कह दिया कि 10 करोड़ रुपया पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर फ़ण्ड के लिए दिया है। यह काश्मीर फ़ण्ड क्या है? आजाद काश्मीर की गवर्नमेंट ने अपने बजट में काश्मीर फ़ण्ड रखा है। नवाज शरीफ़ जो पंजाब के चीफ़ मिनिस्टर हैं उन्होंने पांच करोड़ रुपया रखा है। यह पाकिस्तान की तरफ़ से खुली बगावत है, खुला रिवोल्ट है और कोई कसर नहीं छोड़ी है। दो जगह से, तीन जगह से हजारों लोगों ने बार्डर क्रोस करने की कोशिश की है और काश्मीर के लोगों को प्रोवोक करने के लिए किया गया है। इसके लिए किसी सहादत की या एविडेन्स की जरूरत नहीं है कि पाकिस्तान की इन्वोलमेंट कितनी है। पाकिस्तान की खुले ढंग से काश्मीर में इन्वोल्वमेंट है, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। लेकिन यह बात भी सही है कि जब प्राइम मिनिस्टर बात करते हैं कि हमें लोगों के दिलों को जीतना है। अल्टीमेटली तो हमारा आब्जेक्टिव लोगों के दिलों को जीतना है। हम एक डेमोक्रटिक कंट्री हैं। जब आल पार्टीज की मीटिंग हुई थी तो मैंने यही कह दिया था कि जब तक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की आथोरिटी नहीं होगी, लोगों

[श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद]

की जान-माल महफूज नहीं होगा तब तक कोई पोलिटिकल एक्टिविटी बड़ी तादाद में नहीं हो सकती है। उसका क्रिटिसिज्म हुआ था। जब लोग वहां गये और श्रीनगर में हालात को देखा तो सही हालात का अन्दाजा हुआ। पोलिटिकल एक्टिविटी और हालात दोनों एक दूसरे के कम्प्लीमेंटरी हैं... (व्यवधान)। एक तो यह कहा गया कि वहां पर एसेंसियल सर्विस नहीं है। बात यह है कि श्री जगमोहन के दौर में लोगों को नेगेटिव फीलिंग हो गई है। पहले वहां बिजली की व्यवस्था डिस्टर्ब होती थी। पिछली सरकार ने टेरिफ़ बढ़ाया था तो गोली चली थी। उसके खिलाफ़ प्रदर्शन हुआ था, उस पर गोली चलाई गई थी। इस विंटर में बिजली पूरी रही, उसमें कोई डिस्टरबेन्स नहीं हुई। एसेंसियल कमोडिटीज की सप्लाई में कोई शिकायत नहीं है। हर एक चीज मिल रही है। केरोसीन, राशन और वेजीटेबल, हर एक चीज एवेलेबल है। दूसरे जो सिस्टम हैं, टेलीफ़ोन एक्सचेंज हैं, सब ठीक चल रहे हैं। उसमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है... (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जो 10 हजार पोस्ट्स आपने क्रिएट की थी उनके लिए कितनी एप्लीकेशन्स आई हैं?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : कोई डेढ़ हजार लोगों ने बी.एस.एफ़. के लिए एप्लीकेशन्स भेजी हैं।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : इतनी पोस्ट्स के लिए तीन करोड़ एप्लीकेशन्स आ जाती... (व्यवधान) वहां पर 10 हजार हैड्स आप मांग रहे हैं और डेढ़ हजार एप्लीकेशंस आ रही हैं। यह किस बात का सबूत है?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : आपको क्या इत्तिला मिली है?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : No crosstalk, please. Please complete your reply.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : दूसरी बात कही गई प्रोटेक्शन के बारे में। जहां तक प्रोटेक्शन देने का सवाल है, हमने वहां के जो पब्लिक मैन हैं, जितने इम्पार्टेंट लोग हैं, मैं नाम नहीं लेना चाहता हूं, उनको आफ़र किया। उन्होंने नहीं माना प्रोटेक्शन लेना। जैसे गुलाम रसूल भट्टू साहब का सवाल आया। हमने उनको कहा कि पूरी प्रोटेक्शन दी जायेगी। उन्होंने कहा नहीं, मेरे जो बर्दर हैं, दूसरे लोग हैं, वे नहीं मानते और कहते हैं कि हमें प्रोटेक्शन नहीं चाहिये। ... (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : प्रोटेक्शन देना जरूरी है।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : उन्होंने कहा, नहीं, सामने कह दिया।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मान्यवर, सरकार और व्यक्ति में फ़र्क होता है। अगर व्यक्ति कहता है कि हमको नहीं चाहिये और सरकार अगर चाहती है तो.. (व्यवधान) ...

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : शायद राजीव जी भी वहां बैठे थे, प्राइम मिनिस्टर भी थे जब उन्होंने लेने से इंकार किया। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं... (व्यवधान)...यह सही बात है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मंत्री जी मंत्री जी...

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : इसमें एक माहौल हो जाता है वहां। घर में कोई बैठा नहीं रह सकता। किसी को काम होता है। कोई डाक्टर है, कोई टीचर है। आप घर में प्रोटेक्शन दे सकते हैं हर एक को, लेकिन उनकी कोई 150 की फ़ैमिली है। हर एक फ़ैमिली मेंबर को प्रोटेक्शन नहीं दे सकते हैं। उन्होंने नहीं माना। उनको हमने कह दिया था। 179 लोगों को हम वहां, कश्मीर में सेक्युरिटी प्रोटेक्शन दे रहे हैं। उसमें तकरीबन 50 कंपनीज, तकरीबन

हाफ़ आफ़ अबर पैरा-मिलेट्री फ़ोर्सेज फ़ार दिस प्रोटेक्शन, जिसमें सारे लीडर हजरात हैं और जो भी दूसरे हैं जब वह मांगते हैं तो हम कोशिश करते हैं और उसमें हमने कोई कसर नहीं रखी है।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : मीर मुस्तफ़ा।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : उनको भी आफ़र किया था लेकिन उन्होंने नहीं माना।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : आफ़र की क्या बात है, उनको बनाना था।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : उनको आफ़र किया था। जब कोई अक्सेप्ट नहीं करेगा... **(व्यवधान)**....बड़े अजीब आदमी हैं। हमने मान को कहा कि ले लीजिये प्रोटेक्शन, बादल को कहा कि ले लीजिये! लेकिन वे प्रोटेक्शन नहीं लेना चाहते हैं तो क्या उनको मजबूर करेंगे? ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जबर्दस्ती कैसे दे सकते हैं? जबर्दस्ती नहीं दे सकते हैं। ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : सरकार का जवाब नहीं है यह। अगर कोई कहता है कि नहीं चाहिये और सरकार समझती है कि चाहिये तो सरकार को देना चाहिये। ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : कोआपरेट करना होता है। ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री अवधेश सिंह : यह सरकार की हैसियत से जवाब नहीं हुआ। यह तो व्यक्ति के हिसाब से जवाब हुआ। सरकार के हिसाब से जवाब होगा कि अगर सरकार समझती है कि यह जरूरी है तो सरकार देगी।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : दूसरा, रिवाइवल आफ पोलिटिकल प्रोसेज...

श्री कपिल वर्मा : जब मिलिटेंट उनको ले गये तो उनको छुड़ाने के लिये आपने क्या किया?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : छुड़ाने के लिये क्या करते ... **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : कितने अड्डों पर छापा मारा?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : रिवाइवल आफ पोलिटिकल प्रोसेज, इसमें असेंबली के बारे में पूछा गया है। कांस्टिट्यूशनल पोजीशन क्या है, असेंबली को रिवाइव किया जा सकता है या नहीं, इसके लिये हमने यह मामला ला मिनिस्ट्री को उनकी ओपीनियन के लिये रेफर किया है। उसके बाद ही इसमें सरकार कोई फैसला लेगी।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Constitutionally there is no bar, according to the information received. You should have the will to do it.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : कुछ लीगल प्वाइंट्स हैं जिनको देखने की जरूरत है। दूसरा, कहा गया कि कश्मीर एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन सर्विस के बारे में। पहले यह हुआ करता था कि 50 परसेंट कोटा उनको मिलता था जो कश्मीर सर्विस के होते थे। बाद में यह फैसला हुआ, उसको रिड्यूस कर के 30 परसेंट कर दिया गया आई.ए.एस. और आई.पी. एस. में। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो कश्मीर के अफसर हैं उस वक्त जो एस.पी. का डी.एस.पी. था वह डी.एस.पी. तो डी.आई.जी. बन गया और एस.पी. वहीं है। तो हमने यह कोशिश करनी है कि उसी रेश्यो को जो 50 परसेंट था फिर से करना है ताकि लोकल अफसरों को चांस मिले। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया तो दो तीन साल में ऐसी हालत हो जाएगी कि कश्मीर

[श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद]

का कोई अफसर रहेगा ही नहीं। यह हमने 100 दिन में तो नहीं किया (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : कश्मीरी कितने परसेंट हैं?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : हमने कहा है कि 100 दिन में तो यह नहीं हुआ। वह रिड्यूस किया गया था। हमारी पालिसी है हमने रिवाइज़ किया है 50 परसेंट कोटे को फिर रिस्टोर किया जाए आई.ए.एस. और आई.पी.एस. में क्योंकि वहां के लोग नाराज़ हैं बाहर से आई.ए.एस. के लोग आते हैं उनको पोज़ीशन मिलती है हमें पोज़ीशन नहीं मिलती है। किसी ने 26 जनवरी के बारे में (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : आप तो जवाब ही नहीं दे रहे हैं (व्यवधान) मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि आज की डेट में कश्मीर में सीनियर अफसर एस. पी. और डिस्ट्रिक्ट मेजीस्ट्रेट कितने परसेंट ओरिजन के हैं और नान कश्मीरी हैं (व्यवधान)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : यह इनफारमेशन हमारे पास नहीं हैं। परसेंटेज की इनफारमेशन मेरे पास नहीं है (व्यवधान)

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलुवालिया : कितने मिले हैं (व्यवधान) आप होम मिनिस्टर हैं यह फिगर्ज भी आप नहीं बता सकते। (व्यवधान)

श्री विश्वजित पृथ्वीजित सिंह : मिनिस्टर आफ कश्मीर अफेयर्स भी यहां हैं उनसे जरा पूछ लीजिये (व्यवधान)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : 26 जनवरी के बारे में यह बात सही है। जो हमें रिपोर्ट मिली थी (व्यवधान)

श्री कपिल वर्मा : चीफ सेक्रेटरी कौन है? (व्यवधान)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : अडीशनल सेक्रेटरी कश्मीर का है (व्यवधान)

श्री कपिल वर्मा : चीफ सेक्रेटरी कोई है या नहीं? (व्यवधान)

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : मिस्टर ठक्कर हैं जो यहां अडीशनल सेक्रेटरी होम थे। कश्मीर कॉडर के हैं (व्यवधान) दूसरा, जो कश्मीर से लोग आए हैं उनकी व्यवस्था या इन्तज़ाम क्या किया गया है। टोटल रजिस्ट्रेशन का मैंने बताया है उसमें स्टेट गवर्नमेंट ने यह फैसला किया है जो रिलीफ उनको दी गई है :

Grant of *ad hoc* cash assistance of Rs. 500 per family.

Supply of free ration at the scale prescribed by the Government under the public distribution system, namely, 9 kg. of rice, 2 kg. of atta and 1 kg. of sugar per head per family.

Free accommodation either in the available Government buildings or in the tents to the needy families.

Free medical aid.

Supply of blankets free of cost to the needy families.

Supply of one cot to each migrant/family in the camps.

Supply of powder milk.

Fair price shops including vegetable shops have been established near the camp site so that vegetables and other essential commodities are readily available.

Arrangements have also been made for disbursement of pay in Jammu region itself to the employees of the Vacation Department.

In the case of employees of non-Vacation Department earned leave

is granted in their facour liberally nabling them to draw their pay dues from the respective Departments तो इसी तरह से उनके लिए यहां दिल्ली में भी हमने आफिस रखा है। जो लोग यहां आए हैं अपना नाम रजिस्टर करते हैं, उनको यहां हेल्प मिलती है। हमारे पास ऐसी कोई (**व्यवधान**) नहीं, नहीं, बी.जे.पी. का दफ्तर नहीं (**व्यवधान**) इसका हमने सेपरेट आफिस रखा है, यह इन्तजाम है। बैंक्स के बारे में कहा गया। जितनी हमारी फोर्स है अगर इसको हम बैंकिंग इस्टीट्यूशंस और दूसरे इंस्टीट्यूशंस की रखवाली के लिए लगा दें तो ला एंड आर्डर के लिए कोई नहीं रहता। इसलिए हमने अभी दो दिन पहले फैसला किया है और दो बटालियन आई.टी. बी.पी. को वहां भेज दी हैं। पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्ज, टेलीफोन एक्सचेंज और दूसरे बैंकिंग इस्टीट्यूशंस का अलाहिदा तरीके से इन्तजाम किया जाए।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कितना रुपया नेशनलाइज्ड बैंकों से निकाला गया है, क्या आपके पास कोई विवरण है?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : इतना डिटेल कहां से..(**व्यवधान**) दे पायेंगे।

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : देश के केवल दो अखबारों के प्रतिनिधि श्रीनगर में हैं, एक कलकत्ता के हैं और एक बम्बई के तो मीडिया और प्रेस को... (**व्यवधान**) स्थापित करने के लिए श्रीनगर में क्या व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Mr. Minister, you please complete your reply. Don't get disturbed by cross questions.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : दूसरा यह है कि राजौरी पुलिस, डोडा के बारे में आपने कहा। मैंने इनको यह कह दिया कि राजौरी पुलिस में कोई इसका असर नहीं है। उस इलाके को इसमें मिलाना जहां कोई असर नहीं है, पता नहीं गलती से कैसे इन्होंने रखा। राजौरी में इसका कोई असर नहीं है। मैं आनरेबुल मेम्बर को यह यकीन दिलाना चाहता हूं... (**व्यवधान**) गलती से लिखा होगा। इन्सान तो गलती कर सकता है।

SHRI VISHVJIT P. SINGH : Mr. Minister, will you give the name of the officer who acted as a fifth column in your Department and provided this kind of a statement?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : मैंने कह दिया है कि गलती से हुआ है। मैं कहता हूं कि वहां असर नहीं है।

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Why do you blame the Officer?

SHRI S. S. AHLUWALIA : Sir, he is writing on the basis of the intelligence reports.

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : आप ज्यादती करते हैं। आप भी वहां रहे हैं, मैं भी वहां रहा हूं। मुझे कहने दीजिए। आप तो इन्टरप्ट करते हैं।

श्री विश्वजित पृथ्वीजित सिंह : सत्य तो यह है कि एक मंत्री ने लिखा दूसरे मंत्री ने काटा। यह हुआ है। यह सत्य बात है।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : काट दिया वह काट दिया।

श्री मोहम्मद सईद : जब भी यह डिसकशन होता है तो आर्टिकल 370 की इनको पता नहीं क्यों चिंता होती है आर्टिकल 370 कांस्टिट्यूशन में है। यह किसी के कहने से नहीं हट सकती है और जहां तक पार्टी पोजीशन का ताल्लुक है, नेशनल फ्रंट की जो सरकार है उसके मैनीफैस्टो में इसको हटाने का नही है। कांग्रेस की भी कमिटमेंट है; सी. पी. आई. की कमिटमेंट है। इसी इश्यू पर मुझे लगता है कि बी.जे.पी. आईसोलेटिड है लेकिन जब वाजपेयी जी जनता पार्टी में एक टर्नल अफेयर्स मिनिस्टर थे और वहां जम्मू में पूछा गया तो इन्होंने कहा कि हटाने का सवाल ही नहीं है। ऐसा ही रिकार्ड में है, बहुत

[श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद]

सारी पब्लिक मीटिंग में कह चुका हूं। मिनिस्टर से जब पूछा गया तो... (व्यवधान) उन्होंने कहा कि हटाने का सवाल ही नहीं है।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : तब मैं जनता पार्टी में था लेकिन इस समय मैं नेशनल फ्रंट में शामिल नहीं हूं... (व्यवधान) मगर मैं कह चुका हूं कि पहला काम वहां स्थिति को सामान्य बनाना है, 370 की समाप्ति का मामला बाद में आयेगा।

श्री सुरेन्द्रजीत सिंह अहलूवालिया : वहां की व्यवस्था 370 से जुड़ी हुई है। उसका फ़ैसला पहले कर लें... (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : यह भी एक काम है काश्मीर की समस्या को बिगाड़ने में क्योंकि काश्मीरियों के दिमाग में यह बात बैठी है कि 370 का सवाल भा. ज.पा. के लोग उठायेंगे जिनके कंधे पर दिल्ली वाली सरकार टिकी हुई है। यह भी एक कारण है सिचुएशन बिगाड़ने का और... (व्यवधान) यह बात जब आप बोलते हैं तो इसका मतलब है कि और भी सिचुएशन को बिगाड़ा जायेगा।

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : यह बात सही है कि एडिमिनिस्ट्रेशन में, पुलिस में और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के दूसरे जो सेक्टर्स हैं उनमें बहुत ही तादाद में लोग इनफ़िल्ट्रेट कर गये हैं। बहुत सारे लोग जो पे लेते थे इनका काम करते थे... (व्यवधान) ज्यादा एक्शन अभी तक नहीं लिया गया है, 30 गवर्नमेंट सर्वेंट्स को सर्विस से डिसचार्ज किया गया है, लेकिन लोगों की बहुत ज्यादा तादाद है जो इस आंदोलन में इनके साथ मिले हुए हैं। इसमें सख्ती करने की जरूरत है।

तीसरा, पिछले 10–15 दिन से जमायते इस्लामी के साथ जो लोग हैं वे माहौल पर ज्यादा छा रहे हैं। जो घटना पिछले दिनों मीर मुस्तफ़ा की हुई है और इसमें जे०के०एल०एफ० का जो स्टेटमैंट आया है वह दो तरह का है। एक तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं और मैंने लोकसभा में भी कह दिया कि काश्मीर में हमारी नोटिस में कोई कम्यूनल इंसीडेंट नहीं आया कि कहीं किसी कश्मीरी पंडित को, मैं कहना चाहता हूं जैसे कम्यूनल इंसिडेंट होता है, किसी को मारा या किसी का घर लूटा, ऐसा कोई इंसिडेंट नहीं हुआ है, या किसी इबादत वाली जगह पर या टैम्पल पर हमला हुआ हो, ऐसा नहीं हुआ। लेकिन फ़िअर साइकोसिस, दहशत जरूर है। उसकी वजह से—बल्कि लोग वहां इकट्ठे होते हैं।

पिछले दिनों में चार-पांच कश्मीर इंटैलिजैंस के लोग किसी मुहल्ले में गये, तो लोग निकले कि इनको यहां से निकाला जा रहा है। उनकी तरफ़ से जो आम लोगों की यही ख्वाहिश है कि इन्हें भागना नहीं चाहिए। लेकिन जमायते-इसलामी की पालिसी बहुत ही खतरनाक है। वह एक ऐसा माहौल बनाना चाहते हैं, जो हम कहते हैं काश्मीर के बारे में कि वह सेक्युलरिज्म का सिम्बल रहा है ... (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : मान्यवर, जो नेशनलिस्ट मुसलमान हैं, उनमें भी दहशत है और हिंदुओं में भी दहशत है।

तो मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इस दहशत को दूर करने के लिए क्या उपाय हैं और सरकार इस दहशत को दूर करने के लिए क्या उपाय कर रही है?

श्री मुफ्ती मोहम्मद सईद : दूसरा जो लोग टेरोरिस्ट्स की गोली से मरे हैं, उन लोगों को सहायता दी गई है। जो बेचारे लोग वहां मरे हैं, उनके परिवार वालों को एक लाख रुपया दिया गया है। अगर उनके कोई डिपेंडेंट्स हैं, तो उनको गवर्नमेंट में सर्विस दी जाती है।

जा मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि मेरी तरफ से यही कोशिश रही है कि जितने सवालात यहां मेरे साथियों ने उठाये हैं, मैंने उनका जवाब देने की कोशिश की है। ...(व्यवधान) मैं फिर आनरेबल मेम्बरान का मशकूर हूं कि उन्होंने इस बहस में हिस्सा लिया। ....(व्यवधान)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (DR. R. K. PODDAR) : Now, the House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fifty-eight minutes past eight of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 28th March, 1990.